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ABSTRACT

This collection of nine papers by six different authors is directed toward developing a concept of the principalship. Topics analyzed include general functions of the principal, the organization in which he works, formulation of objectives, and the relationship of the principal to his staff, students, superintendent, and school board. (LLR)

Developing A Concept of The Principalship

THE 1967 ALBERTA PRINCIPALS' LEADERSHIP COURSE

'67

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DEVELOPING
A
CONCEPT OF THE PRINCIPALSHIP

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THE LECTURE SERIES
of
The 1967 Leadership Course
for School Principals

Edited by
E. MIKLOS and A. N. STEWART

The Policy Committee, Leadership Course for
School Principals
1967

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FOREWORD

The substance of the lecture series of the 1967 Leadership Course for School Principals was directed toward developing a concept of the principalship. The objective was approached through analyses of general administrative functions, of the organization within which these are carried out, of the relationships between the principal and other persons in the school and school system, and of the way in which members of the organization are affected by and effect the manner in which a principal carries out his responsibilities. Perhaps the objective might be clarified and the papers introduced by an outline of the general assumptions and views on which the content of the lecture series was based.

It seems essential that a principal should understand the nature of the organization within which he works; that is, he should be able to identify significant organizational variables and to deal with them. An understanding of the setting will be furthered by the recognition that a school and school system have certain characteristics in common with other types of organization as well as being distinct from them in some respects. This type of analysis leads readily to a general examination of administrative functions, activities and processes in an attempt to identify possibilities for developing a concept of the principalship. Of course, modifications in emphasis and approach will probably be required because of differences in goals and structures between schools and other organizations.

The attention of a principal, and that of any administrator, should be focused on directing the activities and processes of his organization toward specific goals or objectives. This suggests a major administrative task as being that of identifying, selecting, or stating general goals and translating them into operational objectives. Numerous problems come to mind in this general area: What goals should schools attemept to attain? What specific objectives might be selected under what conditions? How might a program for achieving these objectives be designed? Even when these difficulties are resolved, the principal is still left with an equally difficult task of assessing the extent to which the program is achieving its objectives. Although an analysis of the general aspects of evaluation as an administrative function may be helpful, principals must also be familiar with current practices in evaluation, with their limitations and with possible alternatives.

The nature of the relationship between the principal and the professional staff within the school is crucial to his effectiveness as an administrator. The development of an appropriate relationship depends, at least in part, upon an understanding of characteristics of teachers and of their work, and of the relationships between teacher and school. This suggests possibilities for identifying potential sources of stress as well as conditions under which different teachers may be more effective in achieving the school's objectives. It seems apparent that more detailed attention must be given to developing the concept of the principal as a leader. What functions can a principal perform as a leader? How might these functions best be carried out? How is leadership exercised by teachers and what structural changes may be in order? In what way might a principal attempt to develop his skills as a leader? Discussions such as these should assist principals in developing a better understanding of the process and problems of exercising leadership in the school.

Students form a significant group which is often ignored in discussions of the role of the principal. No doubt this results from the assumption that generally teachers and not principals work with students. Yet, since the major, if not all, activities of the school are directed toward students an understanding of pupils as members of the organization, or as a group within the school which is affected by and in turn reacts to the school seems essential. An examination of student characteristics and of the way in which they view the school would be helpful to principals in relation to problems such as those involved in pupil control.

Finally, it seems important for a principal to recognize that the school is only one part of a larger organization and that he is but one administrator within the school system. This consideration raises questions about the division of responsibilities between principal, superintendent, and other central office personnel in larger school systems as well as in smaller systems where there are fewer administrative personnel. What might be the division of responsibilities in a typical school division or county? What might be a desirable type of relationship between superintendent and principals? What can a principal expect of the school board and vice versa? How can principals influence the operation of the school system? In general, there is need for understanding the relationships and responsibilities which bring a principal into contact with administrators at higher levels in the school system.

In the papers which follow the participants in the Lecture Series have addressed themselves to the general areas and problems outlined above. It is their hope that the analyses will not only serve to clarify the role of the principal as it is today, but that these will also serve as a basis for discussions which lead to the further development of the principalship as a significant position in education.

E. MIKLOS, ***Course Director.***

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of an activity such as the Leadership Course for School School Principals depends upon the interests and efforts of all those involved: sponsors, leadership personnel, and course participants. As a result, those charged with specific responsibilities for organizing the activity find themselves indebted to many groups and individuals. Special mention must again be made of the members of the Policy Committee and the organizations which they represent for continued support and guidance; their leadership not only made possible a twelfth annual Course but also assured its success.

One major aspect of the Course is the lecture series; the lectures serve as the vehicle for developing a theme and provide the substance for other course activities. High quality discussions were generated through the papers presented by the following:

Dr. J. J. Bergen, Associate Professor of Educational Administration

Dr. F. Enns, Professor of Educational Administration

Dr. D. Friesen, Associate Professor of Educational Administration

Dr. D. A. MacKay, Associate Professor of Educational Administration

Dr. W. D. Neal, Associate Dean, Planning and Development

All lecturers are members of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

Group discussions on the lecture series and other group activities were under the capable direction of the following persons who served as consultants:

Mr. K. W. Bride, Executive Assistant, Alberta Teachers' Association

Mr. E. M. Erickson, Superintendent of Schools, Calgary School Division

Dr. E. A. Mansfield, Executive Assistant, Edmonton Public School Board

Dr. M. P. Scharf, Assistant Professor of Educational Administration, University of Saskatchewan

Mr. W. G. Schmidt, Executive Director, Alberta School Trustees' Association

Special thanks are due also to Mr. A. N. Stewart for his highly capable assistance and to members of the clerical staff of the Department of Educational Administration, in particular to Mrs. Pauline Klinck, for work on the manuscripts.

The Setting for the Principalship

E. MIKLOS

To varying degrees, practicing administrators, students of administration, school boards, and the public at large are all interested in effective administrative practice. If it is assumed for the time being that agreement can be reached on what is 'good' administration, we are still confronted with the question as to what personal and social characteristics of an individual are likely to contribute to his effectiveness as an administrator. In order to make the task set for this paper somewhat more manageable, the question has been delimited to the following: "Assuming that an individual has certain basic personal characteristics and social skills, what knowledge or what understandings should he possess in order to be able to perform effectively as an administrator?" It is not difficult to identify numerous areas of knowledge which appear to be relevant; if attention is focused on the principalship the relevance of knowledge about teaching and learning, about curriculum, about records and schedules, about school buildings, and about a host of other things seems self-evident.

Schools as the Setting

Because such lists of specific areas of knowledge can readily develop into an endless series of items, the attempt to respond to the question of "What should a principal know and understand?" must be shifted to a slightly more general and abstract level. Perhaps some analogies, in spite of the inherent dangers in applying them, might serve to suggest the nature of an appropriate response. If we were to consider the example of a physician, we would probably agree that he must have knowledge about the structure and function of individual cells and various groups of cells, about the causes and consequences of various diseases, about the chemistry of the human body, about the actions of various drugs and treatments, and so forth to another extensive list of particulars. Yet it would also seem reasonable to suggest that beyond these specific understandings, a physician or surgeon must understand the human body; he must understand its total structure, the functions of various parts, and the interrelationships among the various parts. Specific knowledge and specific skills become significant and useful only against a background of a broader understanding of the human being as a biological, if not also psychological and sociological, entity.

Analogies might be selected from other areas as well. The lawyer and the judge must be familiar with the details of court procedures, with the sequence of events in the judicial process, with the powers and privileges of different actors on the judicial scene under various conditions, and with many other facets of the judicial process. Again it seems reasonable to suggest that beyond the specific knowledge which enables the lawyer to function from day to day, he must also have a basic understanding of the total system of laws and related processes which are designed to regulate interpersonal, social, and economic activity within a particular area (city, province, country, or world). Without this general but basic knowledge, specifics lose significance, may be inappropriately applied, and perhaps may even be forgotten. There are likely to be some marked differences in behavior between the practitioner who understands the background or basic knowledge in any area and the one who does not.

In what way do the analogies contribute to clarifying the approach which might be taken in dealing with the question of what understandings are essential for a principal? Perhaps no more than to suggest that for any area of practice or study it is possible to identify some totality or some unit, whether it is a human body or the system of laws, the understanding of which is basic to competent practice in that area. The point in question now is not whether there is such an area or totality for principals to know and to understand but what it is. One might identify several possibilities such as the total educational system, the teaching-learning processes and similar general areas; however, at a more restricted level, it seems reasonable to suggest that a highly significant unit for a principal is *the school.* Whereas superintendents need to 'understand' school systems, teachers need to 'understand' classrooms, principals need to 'understand' and to 'know' schools, not merely as physical objects, but as social organizations. Principals should be able to view schools as dynamic social units, as social systems characterized by certain structures and engaging in certain processes, as units which share certain characteristics and problems with organizations in general while also remaining unique in other respects.

A principal who can see his school as a dynamic social system is comparable in readiness to carry on practice as is a doctor who 'knows' the human body or the lawyer who 'knows' the total system of laws. Specific problems which are encountered become more meaningful within the total setting, administrative activity becomes significant when seen as part of the total functioning of the organization, and, although general knowledge does not replace the specific knowledge which is essential for day to day practice, it does aid the practitioner in deciding when and how specific skills might best be applied. The balance of this paper is directed toward developing some useful and functional concepts of schools as organizations.

Allocation of Tasks

To say that schools are going to be examined as organizations is to imply that they will be placed in the same general category as hospitals, churches, business concerns, corporations, the army, branches of government, and so forth; furthermore it implies that the concepts to be used in the analysis will be of a level of abstraction which makes it possible to apply them to cases which do differ in some respects. For example, *administrator* is a concept which encompasses particular instances like principal, bishop, manager and captain. As a departure from the frequently encountered approach of dealing with differences, this analysis focuses on similarities. In particular an attempt is made to indicate how various aspects or common characteristics of organizations are manifest in the structure and functioning of schools. Six organizational characteristics or elements will be discussed: goals, division of labor, roles, hierarchical structure, specifications and rules, and incentives. The first three fall into the general area of identifying and allocating tasks or responsibilities.

Goals

All organizations which fall into the same general category as schools are created for the purpose of attaining fairly limited or specific objectives. In large measure the objectives or goals of an organization determine its distinctive character; organizations created for the purpose of producing some good, rendering a service to the public, or benefitting its members are likely to have different relationships with the broader society, different internal structures, and obviously different activities. Organizations which pursue the same or similar goals are likely to be similar in other characteristics. For example, schools, which exist for the general purpose of providing a service to clients, probably have more in common with other service-rendering, publicly-supported organizations than with other types of organizations.

Just as the presence of goals or objectives is common to all organizations, so are some goal-related problems. One of these is the difficulty of stating clearly and unambiguously what the goals of a particular organization are. This problem seems to be rooted in the fact that most organizations pursue, or have possibilities for pursuing, a number of goals with an attendant lack of agreement as to which goal should be the primary one. It may also be possible to state an abstract goal for an organization but it may be difficult to identify a clearly agreed upon specific interpretation of that abstract goal. Under conditions of abstract goals and multiple goals, it is not unusal to find organizations struggling with defining the end toward which activities should be directed. The problem is confounded by such circumstances as having one set of goals stated for the public and holding another set privately, or recognizing one set of goals but not another.

Schools have problems with goals. It is easy enough to state an abstract goal which is generally agreed upon by educators and non-educators: schools exist for the purpose of educating (or socializing) the younger members of society. Yet, when individuals are pressed to indicate precisely what is their conception of education or what is their conception of activities which contribute to achieving desired goals, we find large variations. It becomes obvious that the general goal does not provide us with clear indications of what should be going on in schools and how specific ends might be attained; this condition presents major problems for the administrator who supposedly is directing the organization toward the achievement of its goals. Many other questions could be raised which are beyond the scope of this paper: How specifically should goals be stated? Do goals change over time? Are the goals of an elementary school the same as those of a secondary school? If not, what are the differences?

The experience of numerous organizations seems to be that goals are "slippery"; even if they are defined or identified at one time, they have a habit of "getting away from" the organization. Goal displacement may occur in a number of forms. One possibility is that secondary objectives begin to assume major importance. This is the case, for example, when schools begin to assume or are asked to assume a disproportionate amount of concern for athletic and social activities at the expense of academic and intellectual pursuits or when schools take on social welfare functions which seriously interfere with major goal achievement. It may well be that at certain times and under certain conditions it is entirely appropriate for schools to focus on the integration of different cultural groups or on providing basic health services; however, it should be recognized when these goals tend to displace what were the primary goals.

Another form which goal displacement takes is a shift in attention from the objectives to the means which are used to achieve the objectives. This appears to be a particular problem for administrators who devise certain means for achieving objectives and then treat the means as sacred while tending to forget why a particular activity exists. Rigid adherence to established time schedules, filling in required number of forms in a required way, submitting written reports regularly may come to achieve far more signifiance and attention than the purpose which the activity actually serves. Another oft-mentioned administrative failing is the emphasis on keeping costs down at the expense of achieving certain goals. Perhaps the most objectionable form which goal displacement takes in education involves distorting activities in the school and interpreting all goals in terms of those which are assessed by departmental examinations; for many schools, the only goals seem to be getting youngsters through the grades nine and twelve examinations, often without the realization that this has become the major goal. The administrative problems seems to be not only identifying goals but holding onto them, or at least being aware of shifts, after goals have been identified.

Division of Labor

Another characteristic common to all organizations is that they attempt to achieve their objectives by creating a division of labor; that is, the total task of the organization is divided into component parts and these parts are assigned to different groups and individuals. As a result of the division of labor, organizations can achieve objectives which individuals can never achieve in terms of producing goods, achieving political or economic control, and rendering services. This is possible because seemingly unmanageable tasks are separated into manageable parts and also because specialization through the division of labor makes it possible to develop a high level of competence in any one area. By capitalizing on skillful performance of highly specialized individuals in limited areas, the organization has proven itself as a highly effective mechanism in many areas of modern life.

Although a division of labor is basic to the idea of an organization, it is by no means determined completely by the task to be performed. There are usually many ways in which a job can be divided. In schools one of the ever present problems for principals is that of creating an effective division of labor. Among the problems that have to be considered are deciding on (1) how to group pupils; (2) how to assign activities to teachers; (3) what criteria to use in assigning groups of students to teachers, and so on. The division of labor in a school can vary from simple to highly complex; small schools with clearly limited programs require only a simple division of labor whereas larger schools with diversified programs are characterized by a complex division of labor. Complexity is increased by attempts to use special skills of teachers and pupils, to classify pupils according to various criteria, and to make instruction more highly individualized. Specialization and increasing complexity are evident in trends toward forms of team teaching, departmentalization, and more flexible forms of scheduling at all levels and in all types of schools.

While schools benefit from the increased level of specialization they also inherit some of the associated problems and dilemmas. As people become more highly specialized they become more concerned with their particular activity, with their specific objectives, than with those of the total school and of people in other specializations. The administrator is faced with the task of reconciling conflicting demands, of serving as a communication link between people who are less and less able to communicate with each other. Complex forms of division of labor lead to more types of coordinating activity such as committee meetings and conferences which probably take up more and more of the administrator's time.

One of the problems that is closely related to specialization is that of increasing impersonality. In some types of organizations this might be considered desirable; however, in schools, it would seem to be desirable that the student should be known as an individual. As teachers and activities become more highly specialized a number of teachers may know a little about a particular child but few, if any individuals, may know him well. Decisions which have a marked effect on the progress and future of an individual are the result of many smaller decisions rather than the result of thorough analysis and examination which leads to more complete knowledge of the individual. If there is a possibility of undesirable levels of impersonality as a result of increasing specialization, then some means have to be built into the structure of the school so that the ill-effects of the increasing impersonality are reduced. Various forms of team organization may make it possible to recover desirable elements of more personal relationships between teachers and pupils while retaining the advantages of specialization.

Roles

Closely associated with the division of labor is the configuration of roles which is created within the organization. The specialized tasks in an organization are defined in terms of certain behaviors which are expected of individuals in particular positions. The sets of expectations define the role which the individual is to perform; the role assigned to an individual determines what activities he performs and to a certain extent how he is to perform them either because of his general knowledge about that role or as a result of specific information given to him concerning the role. The basic roles of pupil, teacher, and principal are generally common to all schools; however, specialized roles such as vice-principal, counsellor, team leader, department head and consultant may also be created as more activities and tasks are defined in the division of labor. Although roles are usually defined for an individual, frequently, particularly in the case of new roles, an individual is faced with lack of clarity in the definition of his role. This may present particular problems for vice-principals, for example, and to some extent principals who express concern for a clarification of their roles.

Knowledge about the roles which are present in an organization yields some useful information about the character of that organization; however, the information can also be misleading if it is assumed that roles which are designated by the same term are characterized by the same behavior or expectations. For example, both elementary and secondary schools include the role of student or pupil but the role at one level is quite different from the role at another. Even though students at both levels are expected to respond as serious learners, behavior which is tolerated or even expected at the grade five level may not be tolerated at the grade eleven level. In the same way the specific aspects of performing the teacher role vary sufficiently among the levels that a successful teacher at one level may be highly unsuccessful at another because the individual is unable to sense the subtle shifts in appropriate or acceptable role behavior.

The same holds true for principals of different types and sizes of schools. At a sufficiently high level of abstraction it may be possible to identify the same general functions; however, the way in which the functions are fulfilled will differ markedly between a five-teacher and a fifty-teacher school. Relationships between teacher and principal, activities which are delegated, relationships with pupils, and emphasis in the role will result in two widely different role behaviors. Unless principals are sensitive to differences in the role as they move from one type of school to another or from one size of school to another, they are likely to encounter serious difficulties.

Attempts to define or to clarify the behavioral expectations associated with any role usually lead to the realization that there is a lack of complete agreement as to the precise definition of specific roles. Although a school system might try to spell out the role of principal, it soon becomes evident that other persons also become involved in defining a role; teachers hold certain expectations for a principal's behavior, so do pupils, and so do parents. In addition to this the principal himself has some ideas about what is appropriate behavior. One might conjecture that the principal who is sensitive to, but not necessarily subject to, the expectations of various groups and individuals is likely to be more successful than one who is not as sensitive. Other role incumbents also find themselves subject to conflicting expectations; teachers may encounter problems as they try to meet the expectations of the administrative structure, of their fellow teachers, of students, and of the community. One of the realities of organizational life seems to be the presence of conflicting expectations. On the more optimistic side it does seem that except in instances where an individual is expected to engage in two incompatible activities, such as counselling students and also disciplining them, the conflicts are usually at a tolerable level or can be reduced by various means.

Another form of strain or tension in relation to role might be mentioned, namely, role-personality conflict. Organizations take certain steps in recruitment and in selection to match the demands of a particular role with the knowledge, abilities, and preparation of a prospective candidate. If there is a good fit between what a role requires of an individual and that individual's skills and personal tendencies, it is likely that he will perform effectively, at least to his satisfaction, in that role. However, if there is a poor fit between role and personality, the individual will likely experience frustration and dissatisfaction. He will probably perform ineffectively due to excess tension and loss of energy through strain associated with attempting to meet the demands of the role. This type of difficulty is not at all uncommon in education; some teachers find after a trial that they are not suited to teaching at a particular grade level, or to teaching at any level, and the same may hold true for principals. In such instances the only solutions would appear to be to seek out roles which are more compatible with personal tendencies or to modify expectations so that they are more highly related to individual characteristics. In dealing with other members of an organization, the administrator may find himself suggesting and applying both forms of solutions to teachers and other role incumbents.

Coordination and Control

To this point a school has been identified as an organization which is directed toward the attainment of limited goals or objectives. It attempts to achieve its purposes by creating a division of labor which permits specialization in performing component tasks; these tasks are assigned to individuals who perform various roles which define behavior designed to move the organization toward its goals. So far only one-half of the organization's essential characteristics have been outlined, and only one-half of the organizational picture has been displayed. The other half consist of putting together the various individual activities that supposedly contribute toward the achievement of objectives; that is, the organization requires structures and mechanisms which enable it to control and coordinate the activities of the members of the organization so that desired behavior and an appropriate meshing of behavior is forthcoming. Coordination and control are achieved in three main ways: a hierarchical ordering of roles, explicitly stated rules and specifications, and a system of motivation and incentives.

Hierarchy

One of the ways in which organizations attempt to achieve control and coordination is by designating certain roles as being centers of authority and then arranging all other roles in levels beneath the centre of authority in a pyramidal fashion. Roles at one level come under the control and supervision of a role at the next higher level. In this way a directive from the highest or administrative level is communicated downward and eventually influences and controls the behavior at the lowest level. The extent to which the hierarchical nature of the control structure is emphasized varies according to type of organization and also within organizations of the same type. The military tends to have a tall clearly pyramidal control structure while schools tend to have flatter structures. Among schools, some will have a taller structure with greater emphasis on the authority of higher level roles than will others. The size of the organization as well as the type is probably related to the height of the pyramid.

A clearly designated pyramidal structure is probably an indication that the power to make decisions is centralized at the highest level while a flatter structure suggests that decision-making power is more decentralized. Obviously, this would not hold true in all cases for even a tall structure may only impose hierarchical control in some aspects of operation and leave others decentralized. In theory at least, the structure of a provincial school system tends toward the pyramidal with a considerable amount of centralization in various aspects of the operation of the system; yet in other areas, scope for decisions is left to local school districts and to local schools.

Although individual schools contain the rudimentary elements or roles for a hierarchical arrangement in the form of principal, assistant principal, department head, teacher and pupil, the hierarchical aspects are never as fully developed as they are in the military. Administrators in education tend to think of their function as helping rather than controlling teachers; the emphasis tends to be on cooperation and leadership rather than on formal, hierarchical control. The intermediate positions that have been mentioned do not clearly fall between any other two, nor is there a strict supervision of one level by another. The apparently loose arrangement to the ordering of roles may confuse non-educators who tend to think in terms of hierarchical arrangement in all organizations or even among educators who, for some reason or other, prefer the military model. Even in more complex forms of organization such as team teaching, the potential for hierarchy is played down as we prefer to discuss 'cooperative teaching' and to talk about teachers sharing responsibilities for the operation of the team. Only in the case of non-professional assistants is there clear indication of hierarchical distinction and status differences; however, it is a good question whether hierarchy is as absent in cooperative teaching approaches as educators frequently like to think that it is.

There is sufficent evidence from other organizations that hierarchy is an effective means of control; yet it also has its limitations and attendant problems. Perhaps it is an awareness of these problems that leads organizations such as schools to deemphasize hierarchy and status differences. One of the problems is that the hierarchy creates sharp divisions in the organization which may lead to resentment by those at lower levels, resistance to control attempts from higher levels, an unwillingness to assume any part of responsibility for actions taken as a result of directives from higher levels, and a reluctance to go beyond the scope of directives and commands in performing one's tasks. Hierarchical levels also introduce general problems in upward and downward communication; higher levels may not be made aware of problems which exist at lower levels because such information shows performance at lower levels in a poor light. Decisions and actions proposed by the higher levels might not be consistent with the reality that exists at the level of operations.

The limited emphasis on hierarchical control in schools has a number of consequences. One of these is that a principal is forced to rely to a considerable extent on his knowledge and skill as an educator and as an individual to try to influence teachers rather than on the formal authority granted him by the organization. The second is that teachers tend to have, in many instances, a fair amount of discretion for making decisions about their activities. The latter may not hold true in situations where the presence of a number of teachers in the same subject area requires that there be some attempts at coordination; even here, the solution may be to strive for some consensus for adhering to a particular schedule or using certain materials rather than resort to a decision imposed by the hierarchy. Perhaps the main problem lies not in deciding whether or not to have hierarchical control but rather to identify the areas in which hierarchical control is essential (e.g., determining basic guides for the operation of a school, and dealing with a teacher who is clearly ineffective) and those areas in which hierarchial control may be dysfunctional (e.g., pace and sequence of learning activities, and selection of materials). Unless there is a conscious attempt to make such distinctions it may well be that hierarchical control is attempted in the areas which need it least and overlooked in areas where it should be applied.

Specifications and Rules

A related mechanism through which organizations attempt to control behavior is through specifying the procedures which are to be followed in performing the activities in the organization and making explicit a system of rules designed to guide operations. Much of the hierarchical control takes the form of checking to make certain that specified procedures are being followed and that rules and regulations are adhered to. It would seem obvious that if there is to be organization there has to be some spelling out of rules, norms, or specifications which have to be followed; however, in some organizations this takes an extreme form in which procedures are specified in great detail and in which rules and regulations have been devised to meet almost any contingency. Criticism of "red tape" in dealing with governmental bureaucracies is based on problems of trying to work one's way through the various rules, regulations, and channels that serve as a guide for a particular case or perhaps in search of the rules that can be used as a guide.

The other end of this continuum of specification and official guides is not the completely rule-free organization, but one in which rules and guides are at a minimum. Such organizations are usually those which employ professionals whose basic preparation, and professional skills, are relied upon to serve as guides for behavior. In other words, the organization places faith in the competence of the individual, and in his ability to make appropriate decisions; it recognizes the need for him to be able to deal with special cases and refrains from spelling out how he is to carry out his activities. The only specifications and rules in evidence may be those designed to make it possible for a number of similar professionals to enjoy the same prerogatives in performing their functions within an organization. Medical clinics composed of specialists, research centers, and universities are probably close approximations to this professional model.

The case of education is an interesting one, particularly as this might be viewed by the individual teacher. Not long ago provincial school systems showed considerable interest in outlining what was to be taught, how it was to be presented, how schools were to be conducted and so forth. The specification was accompanied by a system of supervision designed to enforce the rules, regulations, and specified procedures. In recent years the emphasis has been on the suggestive nature of what used to be authoritative documents; prescriptions became examples of what might be done, prescribed textbooks and outlines gave way to lists of generally approved references. Associated with this has been an increasing interest on the part of school systems in developing guides, in prescribing content, and in making suggestions as to methods and materials. It is as if schools and school systems moved into a vacuum of specifications with the result that the teacher is still in much the same situation as before.

The continued specification of procedures for teachers both with regard to instruction and classroom control is justified on various grounds. One is that teachers need this specification and want it; no doubt this is true in some cases. Nor can it be denied that there is risk in removing the specifications if some members of the organization require such direction in performing their work. There seems to be much less concern about the effects on teachers who do not need such specifications and guides but may be expected to follow them. Another justification is that it ensures that all pupils receive equitable treatment in terms of the general plan and content of the instruction to which they are exposed. Again this is true if one assumes that specified procedures are in fact being adhered to and that the specified procedures are equally suited to all students. Neither of these assumptions may be valid in all instances. The challenge again would seem to be to work out ways and means of assuring that instances where procedures must be specified and rules rigidly followed are held distinct from those where such specifications may be inappropriate. Teachers who need guides should have them, and the use of the guides should be enforced; those who do not need such specifications should not be expected to follow them. Even generally required materials should be used only with those pupils for whom the material is useful.

Lack of rules, regulations, and procedural specifications leads to variations in practice; it is a good question as to how much variation an organization such as a school can tolerate without ceasing to exist as an organization. Schools must have certain minimum regulations in such areas as pupil conduct, but what this minimum level might be is not easily determined. Principals need to consider what variations in practice are beneficial, which are harmful, and which do not matter. Decisions like this will again be made on the basis of knowledge about the students and teachers, the type of school, and similar variables which may well change from time to time.

Motivations and Incentives

Organization must have some system of motivation, some system of rewards and incentives which attracts members to the organization and encourages the behavior which is desired. This is a clear recognition that the organization enters into an exchange with the members of the organization; it can obtain their assistance in the pursuit of its goals only if it can serve as a means through which individuals can successfully pursue some of their own goals. It recognizes also that the organization must expend some effort in maintaining the organization, in holding it together, in building up its strength rather than focusing only on the achievement of organizational goals. The investment in maintaining an organization contributes to the achievement of goals only in an indirect way; that is, by making the organization more capable of pursuing it goals.

The problem of motivation raises the question of what it is that people are willing to expend energies on, what they are seeking when they enter an organization, what conditions will appeal to them sufficiently so that they will be willing to work toward attaining the goals of the organization. Most organizations offer economic rewards which attract individuals to the organization; some offer greater rewards to those whose performance is particularly pleasing. Beyond direct economic rewards, organizations reward people by giving recognition and status, giving them a sense of achievement, and offering them opportunities for realizing various individual goals. At times organizations also resort to various forms of coercion and punishment in order to secure desired behavior, as schools do in some attempts to control students. To a more limited extent, coercion plays a part in controlling the behavior of teachers for a negative reaction from the organization may be an immediate and also a long term form of punishment.

Many organizations, particularly those which are like schools, have found that the most effective system of motivation and the most effective way to control their members is to secure their commitment to the goals of the organization. If an individual identifies with an organizational goal, and accepts it at least in part as his own goal, the achievement of the goal becomes a source of satisfaction to him. Under such circumstances, the practice of offering various kinds of incentives assumes minor significance. Schools and school systems rely heavily on the general commitment which teachers have towards the goals of schools and education generally. Much of the effort to increase the level of motivation takes the form of offering leadership in identifying the possibilities for achieving various goals, assisting individuals in working toward those goals, and accepting the achievement of the goals as a major reward. The presence of these general conditions is indicative of a high level of morale or motivation. Emphasis on the high level of morale, however, should not obscure the fact that even schools rely upon subtle forms of reward and punishment; schools do have preferred classes and preferred classrooms, preferred time schedules which principals probably use in rewarding those who have served the school well.

Conclusion

As an attempt to describe and to discuss the school as an organization, the outline which has been presented leaves much to be desired; the elements which were selected for discussion, although significant, are only a few among many that might have been included. The description fails to deal with the many additional processes, activities, and interactions that take place within the school. In fact, what has been presented is a fairly static framework of what is in reality a changing and dynamic social system. In spite of this limitation, the framework may be useful as a beginning on a more thorough knowledge and understanding of the school as an organization. The school was identified as a social unit which strives to achieve its objectives through a division of labor and a system of roles; mechanisms of control and coordination such as the hierarchical ordering of roles, guidelines and authoritative specifications for activities and a system of motivation are present in some form in all schools. Only a few of the many school problems and implications for principals which these bring to mind have been developed.

In the papers which follow, most of these features will be discussed in more detail and deeper implications for administrative practice will be developed. The point of view expressed in the earlier portion of the paper is still maintained: In order to understand administration and the principalship, the practicing principal must understand the school as an organization.

The Principal: Administrator

F. ENNS

The purpose of this paper is to examine the principalship as an administrative position. To make such an examination requires the development of a concept of administration, an examination of task areas and situational variables affecting tasks and task performance, and finally a review of the administrative process. Against this background of basic concepts it will be possible to assess the administrative aspects of the principalship.

A Concept of Administration

With few exceptions, human endeavor involves cooperative action. Whenever a task situation involves two or more persons, or when a person performs a given task in a sequence of other tasks performed by other persons, there is need for some form of organization, facilitation, coordination, control or direction. When the task requirements are simple, these functions can be simple, but when that task grows more complex, or when it increases in scope, the functions also become more complex, and it becomes more important that they be performed effectively. It becomes necessary to assign particular individuals and groups to particular jobs; to direct and coordinate their efforts in some sequence or order; to motivate individuals and groups to higher levels of performance, effectiveness and efficiency. It may be necessary to remove distractions and interferences from the situation. It may be necessary to help individuals see their own specialized contribution more clearly in terms of overall purposes. It is also necessary to provide and manage supplies and equipment or facilities. The sum of the activities which make it easier for individuals and groups to perform effectively in the achievement of complex goals may be thought of as administration.

In a school or school system this complex goal activity is the education of pupils. The direct activity of educating is the sum of those inter-actions which take place among teachers and pupils, among pupils themselves and between pupils and such facilities and equipment as books, labs., audio-visual materials, and the curriculum. The task of educating is a complex one with an extremely wide scope, extending well beyond the mere acquisition of skills and factual knowledge. While the skills and knowledge are essential aspects of education they are more means to other ends than ends in themselves. Pupils' development of attitudes and appreciations, growth of understanding, moral and intellectual growth and development of interests and abilities that will lead to vocational successes are some of the more important goals. And the means by which the task of educating is performed are just as important, and just as complex, as the end purposes themselves.

The overall task of educating, in all its complexities, cannot occur in school systems or schools without the performance of administrative functions. There must be teachers, buildings, pupils, books, programs of study, facilities, equipment, supplies. And somehow administrators must work a miracle so that the right teachers meet the right pupils in the right buildings and rooms. And they have to assure that supplies in the right amounts are there at the right time; that suitable books are available, that the curriculum applies and is relevant. To bring two thousand children spread over the length and breadth of a rural division or county, into schools where they come into the contacts mentioned above with only minimal disruptions is no mean achievement. In a system having 60,000 pupils, the smooth operation takes on the quality of a miracle.

This is the function of administration which must be distinguished from the function of educating (or if you prefer teaching and learning). It is evident that considered in this way administration is much more than the clerical kinds of tasks it is often thought to be. It is very broad in scope, being concerned with defining major goals and resources, with organizational maintenance and development, and with leadership in developing improvement and engineering change. But administration is not itself the performance of the mainstream functions in an organization. Rather it concerns facilitating the performance of these functions usually by others.

One way of looking upon administration

is as a function distributed throughout an organization and performed by all individuals as incidental to their mainstream activities. Under this concept, a doctor would receive his own patients, make appointments, prepare them for examination, keep records, operate the hospital, look after its finances and staffing, etc., in addition to practicing medicine. Teachers would arrange for buildings, maintaining and caring for schools; employ, promote, transfer or dismiss colleagues; raise money for their salaries, for supplies and equipment; purchase, store and distribute supplies; etc. as well as practice their profession of working with boys and girls. Obviously there are some serious difficulties involved in this method of operation, especially as schools and school systems grow larger and as educational programs grow more comprehensive and therefore more complex. Performance of the administrative function then tends to interfere with the performance of the educating function, by diverting too much time and effort. It represents too much "overhead" in terms of the main function.

But there are some aspects of this approach that are not at all unattractive; the flexibility which it permits, the decentralization of many decisions, the control over many matters which remain in the hands of those immediately involved in teaching and learning. This suggests that at least some of the administrative function should remain in the hands of teachers and instructional specialists in schools.

An alternate way of handling the administrative function is to abstract it completely from the mainstream operation and assign it to a group — or class — of persons who are specialized in the performances and skills required, thereby freeing others in the organization to give their full attention to the main operation. This is the more common approach. In hospitals it permits doctors to concentrate on the practice of their profession; in research institutes it permits researchers to apply their creative skills more fully; in schools it is intended to enable teachers to be more fully professional.

While this abstraction of the administrative function is also very attractive in many ways, it is not an unmixed blessing. First, it may mean that decisions are often too far removed from the point of action. Second, administrative performance may not always be perfectly coordinated with the needs of the goal-achieving activity. Third, administrative control may actually hinder other activities and because of separation of function, communication may suffer. And sometimes administrative criteria are used to assess performance of the teaching function.

In most situations, however, we are likely to find a combination of the two alternatives, and we will find considerable differences of mix in specific offices. Certainly the superintendent in a large school system is far removed from teaching, and his whole function is administrative. The specialist teacher, such as a speech therapist in a school, is very close to the education of pupils and is little concerned with such administrative matters as debt management and wage negotiations with the caretakers' union. And there are many positions between these extremes which consist of varying proportions of administrative and educative functions. Those nearer the superintendent's office will be more concerned with administration, and those nearer the classroom will be more concerned with teaching. Thus there are administrative aspects of the teacher's role, though these would be less emphasized than the administrative aspects of the department head's role, and these in turn are less evident than those of the principalship.

Tasks of Administration

The complexity of teaching and facilitating learning have been pointed out. Teaching is a subtle process, imperfectly understood, and dependent on highly creative and artistic behavior on the part of teachers. The facilitation of teaching, or educational administration, is no less complex, and its effective performance, too, is subtle, creative and artistic. Since its scope is so broad, the function must be sub-divided and assigned to specialists in the performance of particular tasks. Moreover, administration has been referred to as a facilitating function, or a second-order operation. This means that when we consider the educational system as a whole, administrative behavior is a means to another end. When the administrative sub-system is considered, however, then the tasks may be thought of as ends in themselves. For example, the process of preparing the school district's annual budget is a very important end in itself as far as the secretary-treasurer and his assistants are concerned. But as far as educators in the system are concerned it is important only to the extent that it facilitates the overall operation of the district, and this in turn only insofar as it is reflected in the educational growth of pupils.

What are the major task areas with which administrators must be concerned? Any standard textbook will present a comprehensive list. These vary from text to text, and they differ according to the position being discussed. By and large, however, the following are included:

1. *Pupil Personnel Tasks.* In every school there are pupils of considerable range in age, maturity, size, ability, and motivation. Somehow they must be organized into smaller or larger groups for instruction and learning. Somehow their progress must be guided and recorded. Each of them must be accounted for throughout the day and the year. Pupil personnel tasks include attendance, accounting and control, or discipline. Because pupils are individuals and different in many ways, there must be differentiation of treatment. Fortunately, however, within limits pupils are also similar in many ways, and group procedures can be effective for many, if not most of the aspects of pupil personnel tasks. Please note, however, that we are concerned with tasks which are intended to make teaching and learning possible—not with the teaching and learning themselves.

2. *Tasks Related to Teacher Personnel.* Schools certainly abound with pupils, but they also have to be staffed with teachers. The administration of teaching personnel involves all the complexities of recruitment, employment, placement, orientation, promotion, transfer and even in some cases, dismissal of staff. It involves salary and teacher welfare programs, in-service education and continuing professional development, supervision, professional motivation, job-satisfaction and morale. The tasks related to all these matters are complex, and on their adequate performance depends much of the effectiveness of the school and school system.

3. *Tasks Related to Program Development.* Even when all the tasks of administering pupil personnel, and teacher personnel are adequately looked after, we still do not have a school or school system. There must be a curriculum or program, for this is really the medium or vehicle of education. The program provides the means through which social, intellectual, vocational and moral development can occur. It is the focus of pupil and teacher interaction.

"Program" must be interpreted broadly, for all the experiences a pupil has have an effect upon his education. Thus variation in subject content, modification in order and method of presentation, experimentation with teaching techniques, employment of technical media, variation in classroom organization and routine, provision for pupil motivation and stimulation, the extra curricular activities, may all be thought to be aspects of program development.

The program is developed at various levels—in the provincial department of education, in the school district central office, in the school and in the classroom. At each level some kinds of decisions and developments are more appropriate than are others. Thus it is evident that some aspects of these administrative tasks are best distributed throughout the organization, while some are best abstracted from it.

4. *Tasks Related to Administration of Physical Facilities.* Provision, management and maintenance of such facilities as buildings, grounds, supplies, equipment constitute the tasks involved here. As the program becomes more diversified, as for instance in the vocational wings of composite high schools, the provision and maintenance of equipment becomes ever more important. But even in regular classrooms it is vital. Few things are more frustrating to teachers than to have planned pupil and classroom activities only to find that needed supplies and equipment are not available, or that those provided are unsuitable. In the administration of facilities the standard by which to measure effectiveness must be satisfaction of teacher and pupil needs rather than administrative convenience and orderliness.

5. *Tasks Related to Office Procedures and Operation.* A number of writers who deal with administrative tasks tend to refer slightingly to these tasks as "administrivia". This reference is unjusti-

fied, for although much of this task area concerns details, attention to these details may be very important. Certainly these matters are insistent and demanding and must be attended to. Furthermore, especially in larger schools, the office is the nucleus of the school, of its communications network, of its contacts with the home and community, of its relations with the whole school system. The effective operation of the office is of considerable importance in the school's overall effectiveness. What should be drawn to the attention of school authorities, however, is the appropriate assignment of tasks in this area. For teachers, or principals, to perform many of the jobs required is an inappropriate use of available human resources. There are people specially trained to do the kinds of tasks required. They do them more effectively, more efficiently and at much lower cost.

6. *Tasks Related to Organization and Structure.* This area is concerned with the proper functioning of the school as a social system. The organization must look after adequate communication, facilitate the attainment of educational goals, and offset and accommodate to the increasing complexities brought about by growth in size and diversity. Organization is a means to other ends. Inadequate organization interferes with the attainment of such ends, but organizational structure without attention to the people in it is also inadequate.

Situational Variables

How these task areas will be approached, and the extent of direct personal involvement of any one person, will depend upon factors which make up the situation. Every administrator—and indeed every person—functions in a situation which has grown up over a period of time. The situational variables will determine to a large extent the specific aspects of task areas, and also the behavior of the administrator as he performs tasks or sees to their performance. Among such variables one might list the following:

1. *Size*: Size of school and school system will affect very much the nature of task involvement of the principal, superintendent or other officer. The principal's involvement in teaching, for instance, will be much greater in a five-teacher school than in a fifty-teacher school. The superintendent's involvement in visiting classrooms will be much different in a hundred-teacher system than in a thousand-teacher system. One of our major errors is that we attempt to run large, complex organizations as we did small, simple ones. And that gets us into untold troubles.

2. *Availability of Resources*: If resources of all kinds are readily available, task involvement of administrative personnel will differ accordingly. Emphasis will shift from procuring to allocating resources effectively. With plentiful quantities of equipment and supplies, the tasks of program development, for instance, will be quite different from what they would be if such things were strictly limited.

3. *The Kind of School*: Administrative tasks vary from elementary to secondary schools. They differ in academic and technical-vocational schools. These in turn would differ from what was required in schools for the handicapped, in post-secondary institutions, in pre-employment programs.

4. *The Kind of Staff*: Differences in age composition, sex, professional preparation and commitment, experience, etc. will affect the way in which personnel administration tasks are approached. Often older, more experienced teachers must be motivated to approach their job with renewed enthusiasm and vigor. Young, inexperienced teachers often need to be assisted in developing efficient routines in establishing and maintaining an effective classroom climate. The supervisor who attempts to deal with a highly qualified teacher in the same way as with a marginally qualified one deserves the rebuff that he gets from the former.

5. *Status of the School and System*: A rapidly growing school or system faces problems quite different from those of a static one. In the former the expenditure of energy and resources merely in keeping pace with changes may require major effort. In a stable system, these same resources can be applied for developmental purposes rather than for merely keeping up. The problems of a school system in decline are even more agonizing than those brought on by growth. Similarly schools in cultural and ethnic transition will have effects on the way in which administrative tasks are approached. Illustrations of these matters are to be found particularly in the central cores of major North

American cities, where considerable shift in culture and ethnicity is taking place.

6. *The Type of Community*: This latter comment raises the whole issue of the effect of the community not only on the major educational tasks, but on the administrative tasks related to them. A city-centre community has problems different from those of a wealthy suburb. A homogeneous community—in terms of race, wealth, religion, age, etc.—poses problems different from those of heterogeneous communities. The policies, values, class structure, traditions—all will have their effects.

This list of situational variables is not intended to be exhaustive. There are many others that might have been included. It will illustrate the kind of consideration that must be kept in mind, however. The study of situational variables is a study in its own right and extremely interesting, and the product of such study is helping us to acquire a better understanding of administration.

The Process of Administration

To this point the discussion has been focused on the meaning of administration, the tasks or job of the administrator, and brief suggestions of the effect of situational differences on the way in which tasks are carried out. The process variables through which tasks are performed must now be examined. Each of the processes is involved in each of the task areas, so they must be thought of as being in simultaneous operation. Moreover, there is no such thing as pure process. It is merely a convenient construct which is used to study administrative behavior. The existence of process is inferred from the observation of behavior in administrative tasks and situations.

Various writers give different enumerations of process elements. Perhaps the most widely known is Luther Gulick's famous formulation — POSDCORB — Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting, Budgeting. Sears was one of the first writers in Education to use the notion and he listed Planning, Organizing, Directing, Coordinating, Controlling. I prefer to use Gregg's formulation: Decision-making, Planning, Organizing, Communicating, Influencing, Coordinating, Evaluating.

Again, each of these process elements could give rise to extensive study and development. Each is merely introduced, however, and some suggestion of its extent given in order to establish its significance.

1. *Decision Making*: Decisions are made at all times in all situations. There are individual decisions, group decisions, strategy decisions, tactical decisions, policy decisions, operative decisions. There are decisions which affect a whole institution for years, and others which affect only a few persons for a short time. Some decisions have a highly political connotation, while others have mainly rational determinants. Every decision involves choice from among possible alternatives. Every decision is followed by consequences, some of which may be unanticipated. Hence every decision involves risks, and the decision-maker must be prepared to live with these risks. Every decision is located within a chain of prior and succeeding decisions. No decision is immutable. In fact, one of the qualities of effective decision-makers is that they can change or alter their decisions quickly when needed. It is also a widely accepted principle that those who are going to be affected by a decision should be involved in its making. Not all decisions can be completely correct, but not too many can be totally wrong either. And once the die is cast, it is impossible to go back to the situation as it was before. The importance of effective decision-making from classroom to school board is clear.

2. *Planning*: Little needs to be said about the importance of planning in the performance of administrative tasks. Regardless of the job to be done, or the situation in which it is to be done, effectiveness can be increased by planning. Long range planning is essential, but even short range plans make great differences. Particularly in such task areas as program development, provision of buildings and facilities, professional personnel programs, adequate planning is essential.

3. *Organization*: The tasks of maintaining the school and system as an organization or social system have already been mentioned.

4. *Communicating*: One of the most important, and at the same time most difficult, organizational processes is communication. Merely making sure that everyone receives a message is difficult

enough, but it is vastly more complicated to make sure that everyone understands it, and understands it in the same way. There are many barriers to effective communication, and many of these barriers are personal as well as organizational. Every teacher knows how difficult it is to communicate simple information to pupils. Every parent knows how difficult it is to communicate effectively with children and teen-agers. Every administrator must know how difficult it is to communicate in an organization. He must be prepared to spend a great deal of time, care and effort on it, and he must be able to use a wide range of media. Even then he must always be prepared for evidence of inadequate communication and to deal with it.

5. *Influencing*: If decisions are made and courses of action determined, then people must be influenced to change in accordance with the new directions. Moreover, in organizational situations people must be led, motivated, encouraged and directed. This is what influencing involves. There is nothing underhanded about it, but it is a subtle process. Leading people to make changes, motivating them to exercise greater effort, cannot be achieved by oppressive means. Influencing also involves the appropriate exercise of authority. In implementing the process of influencing, the administrator must recognize all the complexities not only of individuals as individuals, but as individuals interacting in organizational situations.

6. *Coordinating*: This too is a most important aspect of the administrative process. If pupil personnel and teacher personnel tasks are not adequately coordinated with tasks related to facilities and program, serious dislocation results. The effect of inadequate coordination is illustrated by new course authorizations before text and reference books are available. Coordination is often taken for granted and its importance does not become apparent until it breaks down, or until it is inadequate. There is no use in having splendid laboratory facilities if the science program has not been developed to utilize such facilities fully. Nor is there any point in having a staff of school librarians for the district if there are inadequate libraries in the schools. Similar reasoning applies throughout. Procuring resources is vitally important, but effectiveness in procuring is nullified if the resources are inadequately applied and procedures inadequately coordinated. A film is useful to a class only if it can be shown at the right time.

7. *Evaluating*: The importance of evaluating is self-evident. It is always necessary to assess the degree to which we are attaining our objectives. It is always desirable to have some indication of the extent of progress or lack of it in terms of some criteria. Hence it must deal with purposes—both the overall or ultimate goals, and the intermediate or process goals. Evaluation must be continuous; it must be objective; and it must be valid. To meet these criteria is very difficult even in so simple a matter as assessing pupils' acquisition of factual knowledge. It is much more difficult in matters of assessing effectiveness of total learning, total teaching effectiveness, total school effectiveness, and general system effectiveness. It is very difficult to attribute cause of apparent success or failure to individual aspects of the system—to teachers, libraries, buildings, programs, equipment, etc. And yet, if we are to make appropriate decisions regarding application of resources, we must make reasonably accurate assessments of the effects of one approach over another, or of one aspect of the program as opposed to another.

It would be quite possible to go on in this consideration of tasks, situations, and process at some length. In fact, the study of administration is concerned mainly with these aspects and involves an extended program. In conclusion, therefore, a brief consideration of the principalship as an administrative position will be given.

The Principalship

Like all officers in middle management positions, the principal finds his role a bundle of paradoxes. Though he is a line officer charged with line responsibilities and clothed with formal authority, he can be wholly effective only if he also accepts certain staff functions and exercises authority accordingly. On the one hand he has responsibilities to his superiors and on the other to his colleagues on the professional staff, and at times there may be conflict between the two. There is a definite job to be done, but it can be done only through and by means of the efforts of others. Thus, somehow, the principal must translate system expectations and directives into a program of action acceptable to his particular staff, but also effective in achieving aims and purposes intended. He cannot be an individualist and ignore the system, but neither can he be an impersonal agent of the system and ignore the individuals with whom he works. In short, like all people who work close to the point of action, he has to implement decisions of others, through the efforts of still others. He finds himself at the vortex of conflicting expectations and needs. Somehow he must live with these conflicts and mediate among them.

Is he a teacher or is he an administrator? The answer will depend upon situational factors such as size of school and system, status of school and system, etc. Actually he is both, but the proportion of each will vary with the tasks and with the situation. Certainly a principal is concerned with many administrative tasks in the areas of pupil personnel, staff personnel, facilities, program, office procedures and organization. He may not —probably should not—do all these tasks personally. But he must see they are done. The extent of his direct involvement will differ from task to task, from time to time and from situation to situation. But if the administrative tasks are not adequately apportioned and effectively discharged, the effectiveness of the school is impaired. Too much assignment of these tasks to teachers will interfere with their professional teaching; too little involvement of teachers may serve to isolate them from ongoing processes and this too may interfere with their professional effectiveness. To the extent that he is concerned with the administrative function, then, the principal is an administrator.

Certainly the performance of the tasks depends on the situation. To the extent that he recognizes the situational variables and their effect, and to the extent that he attempts to accommodate to them or to modify those variables which tend to limit effectiveness, the principal is engaged in administrative activity.

The effective principal, like any effective administrator, must understand and employ process in his work. The more fully he understands the science aspects of the processes I have outlined, the less he has to depend on art and intuition in his work, and more important, the more control he has over consequences.

Is the principal an administrator? Most would agree that he is. By virtue of his position and the responsibilities assigned, he becomes a facilitator whose major function is to enable others to do their jobs better. This is a most important matter, for upon the effective performance of administrative functions depends to a large extent the effective performance of the teaching function. Schools and school systems are today so large and so complex that we can no longer depend upon the incidental performance of administrative functions. Much of the criticism of administration today is criticism of amateur administration. So important, and so complex has administration become that we cannot depend much longer on an amateur approach.

Establishing Direction

W. D. NEAL

What are the objectives of your school? I do not mean school in general but your particular school—the one of which you as the principal are the educational leader.

If I were to ask you to take a few minutes to answer this question I think we would be surprised at the variety of replies we would obtain. Some of you might respond by giving the general aims of education. Others might quote statements made by your school board or superintendent. Still others might say the objectives of my school are those set out in the courses of study issued by the Department of Education.

It is true that all of these form part of the background which helps to determine where the school is going but are they really enough? Do they do any more than set the general direction? It seems that to rely on such vague objectives is like setting out on a trip on the basis of just pointing the car—say in a westerly direction and hoping for the best.

A more promising answer to the question I posed initially might be given by a principal who replies that he will present a written statement of his school's policies—and I mean policies—not just rules and regulations of the kind that tells a teacher what to do when she orders a film; or that consist of thou shalt not do this, nor do that and so forth.

However, perhaps my question has served its purpose for the moment—if only to get you annoyed—but also to force me to try to systematically develop my theme. Stated over simply, that theme is that a school has little chance of being a good school unless it has its own comprehensive set of objectives stated in operational terms and to which there is a strong commitment by principal, staff, students and parents. Let me emphasize the words *comprehensive, operational* and *commitment.*

Why Does a School Need Objectives?

This question really consists of two subquestions namely:

a) Why objectives at all?

b) Why does each school need to develop its own?

One obvious answer to the first question is that a school must know where it is going. We have accepted this answer for a long time without finding it sufficiently compelling to develop objectives that make a real difference in the conduct of schools. Perhaps part of the reason for this is that objectives, as usually developed, are too generalized and imprecise to be sufficiently directional. This aspect will be considered in the next section when the nature of objectives is discussed. However, a further reason, relevant to the question posed here, is that we have not been sufficiently clear on the part that properly developed and stated objectives can play in the ongoing operations of the school as an organization. In other words what is the function of a set of objectives in the total organizational structure and operation of the school?

Perhaps the major functions are those given below. I shall list them first and then examine each in turn.

A set of objectives which satisfy certain criteria to be given later can:

1. set the tone for all of the activities of a school and in so doing ensure that purposeful action takes place;
2. serve as a guide to decision-making in all areas of operations;
3. ensure that the school offers a comprehensive program of activities but establishes desirable priorities within those;
4. provide a proper basis for evaluation of the school's performance;
5. help to ensure that the school is efficient.

The above statements are not mutually exclusive but that is not important. I should like to examine each in turn.

Setting tone and giving purpose. No doubt each of us has visited similar schools within the same district where it might be expected that the external and general forces would be much the same. Yet in one school it is possible to sense quickly that the school seems to know where it is going; that teachers and pupils in general give the impression of working together with a shared commitment. Yet in another similar school there appears to be an aimlessness—a feeling of tension and uncertainty. Such differences may arise of course from several conditions. However, any organization needs to develop a shared commitment to objectives if it is in the first place to have a sense of purpose, secondly to have any chance of reaching its objectives in any satisfactory manner and thirdly to remain a viable organization in the process.

Evidence from a study of other organizations suggests that a cooperative enterprise is more likely in the long run to perform better than one in which the theme is competition and even better still than one in which the theme is characterized by aimlessness. Let's be quite clear about this. A school is one organization which can exist without a clearly defined sense of purpose based on clear cut and accepted objectives but mere existence is not enough. In the process of just existing many children will receive an inadequate education and many teachers will be frustrated and will perform at inadequate levels.

Most people like to work from a secure base and this base, in the case of a school above all, ought to be philosophical rather than traditional, idealistic rather than routine, yet realistic enough to be achievable rather than based on vague expressions of hope.

A final comment on this aspect is that in establishing the relationship of the school as an organization to its environmental society, the individual institution hasn't a great deal of influence in the overall dimensions. But once given those dimensions, a school ought to translate them into clearly stated objectives so that its purpose is clear. Then the bogy of criticism and excessive expectation by the society and by parents can be kept within manageable limits.

A guide to decision making. Decisions are made continuously in the school situation by many people. Some decisions are of a long term nature. They may even be extensions of policy. Others are made ad hoc to meet particular situations. In both cases better decisions are made if there is a basic point of view from which to work. Suppose that one of the objectives of the school is to adapt the learning program to meet individual differences of children. To be an effective objective this must be elaborated in a whole series of other sub-objectives; for example, decisions about what this means in behavioral terms in the various subject matter areas offered in the school—not just lip service—but real specific decisions related to an array of information about pupils, subject matter, resources, etc. However, this is only a beginning. Such an objective would lead to decisions about what kind of testing and observational activities would be undertaken by the school as a whole and by individual teachers to ascertain what those individual differences really are. In addition the whole organization of the school is affected since it is hardly likely that such an objective can be realized with the traditional rigid organization of classes and grades. The evaluation program is affected too since, for example, there is then only a very limited place for common examinations at common times.

In fact objectives of this kind (and there are several others one could list) change the whole school to a place where learning is regarded as a process of growth and change *in an individual.* A school becomes learning centred rather than teacher or subject matter centred. This approach will apply only where objectives are operational and a school is committed and not with objectives which are vague expressions of intent. I know you will be reacting by saying that Departmental courses and examinations and school system policies don't let us do all these things. But is this really true to the extent that we find it comfortable to believe? I propose to come back to this question later.

Let me just reiterate the main point (which can be illustrated in many more ways) namely, that a properly developed set of objectives leads to purposeful decision-making both on a long term and on an *ad hoc* basis.

Ensuring comprehensiveness and establishing priorities. A school has many activities. Some of these are directly related to the main task of developing a sound learning program. Others are more indirectly related, for example, the development of extra curricular activities. Others are more distantly related still, for example, those tasks related to staff growth and satisfaction. All are important and a school policy has to include objectives which ensure that all tasks are accomplished and the most suitable conditions are developed. However, there is perhaps a more demanding aspect involved. Suppose that one major intellectual objective adopted by the school is that all children should be encouraged to think critically. I think you will agree that most statements of educational purposes would include this one. What does a school do to translate it into meaningful action? One thing, of course, is to delineate what this means in actual pupil behavior but in terms of comprehensiveness this delineation must take place in any relevant learning activity in which pupils participate. It is a wasted opportunity if the science teacher, for example says, "I'm not concerned with critical thinking; my concern is to teach science facts and principles." This would apply even to the music teacher or to the physical education teacher. The point is that if the objective of critical thinking is regarded as of high priority and the school as such is committed to it, then opportunities are purposely created and seized upon—both in the regular instructional program and in the extracurricular activities, to ensure that the objective is realized, in as far as it can be, for every pupil in the school.

I need say little about using objectives to set priorities. Some of these are determined by the school's environment but there is still much scope for the school itself to determine what comes first. Amid the conflicting pressures and claims each school has to protect itself by establishing its priorities on the basis of pupil needs and the school's resources.

A basis for evaluation. This topic is the subject of a later paper in this series. Hence it is necessary only to mention briefly that the accepted procedure requires that the first step in any evaluation process is to know the objectives that form the cornerstone of the activity to be evaluated. This applies to schools whether the activity is part of the instructional program or some other aspect of the organization.

To ensure efficiency. This is in part an extension of the use of objectives for decision-making but is worth elaborating for its own sake. If we were able to obtain an index of efficiency for schools in terms of learning output for the input of resources and effort I'm not too sure we would show up in a favourable light. This, of course, is in part due to the nature of an educational institution. It is also due to the fact that we have a large amount of random and uncoordinated effort which is not based on sound objectives nor on the background of knowledge already available to us about pupils and organizations. Quite clearly a proper policy of objectives would reduce our inefficiency.

Suppose that the objective of meeting individual differences of pupils which I mentioned earlier is further delineated on the basis of our knowledge that pupils learn at different rates. We might then say that one of the sub-objectives is to enable pupils to learn at the maximum rate of which they are capable with a minimum waste of effort by repetition or other useless diversion. Many things follow immediately if we are genuine. Why a graded structure of curriculum and school organization? Why a self contained classroom with teaching aimed at the middle with wasted effort on both sides? Why common examinations inevitably pitched at a selected level which means wasted effort for the more able and another frustating failure for the less—all of which could have been predicted much earlier? And so on.

For many reasons in the interests of pupils and in the proper utilization of our organizational resources, schools must become more efficient. Proper objectives can at least make a start in this respect.

I now return to the second part of the question with which I started this section and that is: Why does each school have to develop its own objectives? Of course the first thing that needs to be admitted is that the school doesn't start with a clean sheet. Its general directions are set by provincial requirements, by courses of study and by the policy of the system of which the school is a part. However, the objectives I have in mind are of a somewhat different kind and must be so if the school is to be a viable, purposeful and efficient organization. The following are the major reasons I would advance for the development of the policy objectives for each school by its own staff.

a) *Each school is to some degree unique and its objectives should be developed accordingly.*

Pupils are different individually and as a group from school to school and hence there is room for variation in learning objectives. Teachers are different in competence. The resources of a school will vary and in addition the community a school serves may have considerable variations in composition, values and hopes for education. Perhaps of still more importance is the fact that as a school staff develops in professional strength and responsibility it will want to do things that are different, to experiment with new learning patterns and organizational variations. Given creative administrative leadership, especially by the principal, a school ought to interpret and develop objectives to suit its own philosophy and especially its own students.

b) *A school needs to develop its own objectives in order for them to be meaningful and to result in a sense of commitment.*

Presenting teachers—and pupils—with a ready-made set of objectives just invites apathy and possible rejection. To think through what the school should be trying to accomplish is an exercise of considerable value of itself—a learning experience which leads to commitment. It follows also that the development and review of objectives ought to be a continuous dynamic activity. A set of objectives which remains tucked away gathering dust on the office shelf serves little purpose. Certainly there is a strong case for the regular review of the objectives and their interpretation related to the instructional program but also there ought to be a cyclic review of the objectives in a school policy.

c) *The objectives which emerge from a provincial department and from a school board are not comprehensive enough to meet the needs of a school.*

They may cover instruction in the regular curriculum—but not in operational terms. They may deal with certain other general aspects, but what about such areas as:

(i) the flexible organization of pupils?
(ii) a school testing and examination program?
(iii) the development and effective utilization of learning resources?
(iv) the effective implementation of extracurricular activities?
(v) reporting and cooperation with parents?
(vi) the intangible objectives of learning?

I think there are enough examples given to cover any school.

d) *The objectives developed outside the school are often too vague and too generalized to be of real value as operational directions.*

As I have said earlier they set the general direction but usually do little more. Even in the courses of study where the nature of objectives specified is changing for some subjects, much remains to be done by the school for effective translation into action. However, this is a topic I want to examine in some detail in the next section of this paper.

The Nature of Objectives

It will be noted that I have refrained from using the words "aims" and "goals". There is no particular virtue in using one word in preference to another since the meaning is given by definition and usage. However, it is necessary at this stage to consider in more detail the nature of an objective and in so doing explore some of the reasons that may have prevented objectives from having more meaning and influence in the operation of school.

The first observation that might be made is that objectives differ in level of generality. The same thing might be said in reverse by using the term level of specificity. For example, the objectives of *education* are usually very generalized and in effect describe the broad field and set general directions. Similarly the first level of objectives for a curriculum and even for a particular course of study are nearer to this category. At the other end of the range we find very specific and limited objectives such as a teacher may use for a small sequence of work—perhaps even one lesson. In between these extremes, various levels of generality or, if you prefer, specificity, can be used in formulating objectives. The degree to which a school's objectives should be really specific depends on such things as the area under consideration, the background of knowledge available and the degree of freedom desirable for those making further decisions in implementation. However, as a general rule objectives should be developed and translated from one level to another to a degree of specificity that makes quite clear the direction for subsequent action and gives a real sense of purpose. One of the reasons that our schools often seem confused and that much inefficiency is apparent is this very lack of *specific* objectives. This does not necessarily mean uniformity and stultification. In fact, as I shall argue later, a teacher working from a secure and purposive base has much more incentive to be creative and in fact may lift her level of aspiration and performance to higher levels.

A second and closely related feature of acceptable objectives is that they should be stated as far as possible in behavioural terms. This is not always possible because of limitations in our present knowledge and also because certain aspects of an organization's activities may not lead itself to this kind of objective. However, it is possible to a greater degree that we usually accept. For example for most of the instructional program it is possible to specify objectives in behavioural terms. After all, learning results in changed behaviour. It naturally follows that operational objectives are those which have been broken down until they specify actual behavioural responses desired of the learner. Trow puts it succinctly when he says:

> When introducing statements of objectives, such words as "to know, to understand, to appreciate, to grasp the significance of" and "to enjoy" are open to many interpretations. "To write, to recite, to construct, to test, to compare" and "to contrast" can be interpreted less freely, and the words following these would refer to limited units of instruction—the behaviour the learners would be expected to exhibit as evidence of achievement when they have completed the program.[1]

Later on he points out that often we in education have been asking the wrong question, namely:

> What arithmetic (or other subject) should be *taught*? Instead, the question should be, what arithmetic (or other subject) should be *learned*? The difference is often not recognized, but it is of tremendous importance.[2]

These quotations are intended to show the nature of objectives that should be developed wherever possible. These types of objectives need to be extended and modified for many kinds of pupils—if not for each individual pupil and also for areas in addition to the instructional program.

Now if I refer back to the original question with which I started this paper namely "What are the objectives of your school?" I should reframe it more usefully as follows:

"What changes in behaviour do you expect of your teachers, your pupils and yourself by, say June of next year?" This is the type of question which will lead to more specific and operational objectives. These would also be more realistic and dynamic in the sense that they set realizable targets and foreshadow the setting of new objectives for an ensuing period of time—all of course within the framework of more general philosophical directions set by the outside environment and the school.

A corollary to the requirement that eventually policy should be broken down into behavioural objectives is that within the school there should be further specification as to the content or context within which such behaviour applies. In effect this means that teachers working in subject matter areas would be required to take the behavioural objectives associated with say the "ability of pupils to think critically" and interpret these in context and realistically for mathematics, English, music and other subject areas. Further examples will be developed in a later section.

My last comment on the nature of objectives is that the majority of them are essentially developmental—certainly at the operational level anyway. In one sense they represent staging points along a direction to be followed rather than final outcomes. With respect again to the instructional program this is easier to illustrate since objectives are developed subsequently so that pupils can progress through stages of growth at rates appropriate to their abilities. In this respect also the objectives usually specified in a provincial course of study are seldom adequate for the continuous guidance of the learning activities within a school.

In another sense objectives are set up within the realistic resources of a school and many of them over a limited time period. Hence the attainment of these objectives or an evaluation which throws new light on achievement related to objectives, inevitably leads to further direction and redirection. This latter dimension probably applies more particularly to those aspects of the school as an organization. It leads to the expectation that objectives are to be reviewed and that controlled incremental change is an expected state of any healthy organization —and especially of a school.

The Scope of Objectives and Some Examples

How extensive should be the statement of a school's objectives? The answer is not a simple one. There is a danger in building up a massive document which nobody reads or heeds; on the other hand the school is a complex organization. Probably no other institution has such a mass of tasks allotted to it by its shareholders—tasks which are also anything but clearly defined and in fact which often pose contradictory expectations. Teaching and learning are complex activities and human interactions among administrator, teacher, pupil and parent are also complex. Hence it is not to be expected that the working objectives of a school will be a simple brief document. This is not to say that individual objectives should not be as simple and meaningful as possible and I suggest that some of the discussion earlier on the nature of objectives would result in such improvement.

It does seem necessary that the school's objectives should cover every major area of activity. This seems almost unarguable in terms of breadth of operations. It is more difficult to make subdivisions in terms of depth. It is easy to distinguish a starting line where (1) the school policy develops to make more meanningful the general directions imposed on it by society and by provincial authorities; and (2) the school fills in the gaps to meet the necessary conditions of its operation as an organization. However, it is not so easy to decide what should be included in general school objectives and what should be left to departments, teachers and pupils to develop. Perhaps the answer depends on such factors as the area of operation involved and the particular school in terms of staff competence, professional attitudes, age and maturity of pupils, and sophistication in the ability to develop objectives. One thing seems obvious, however, and that is at all levels of the school, action should emerge from purposeful objectives developed by someone.

In an earlier paper in this series it was suggested that some objectives of an organization are task oriented i.e. getting the job done for which the school exists. Others are aimed at the maintenance of the organization as such. Still others probably serve both functions.

The first group of objectives is centred around the instructional program. While curriculum planners are developing more satisfactory objectives, the translation of these into school objectives suitable for sequential levels and various pupils is a major task. Furthermore, there remains a big gap between the curriculum planned and the learning experienced. Part of this is due to lack of adequate objectives along lines already discussed.

Of considerable and perhaps greater importance are those objectives which aim at more lasting outcomes and which cut across subject area lines. Space precludes a full discussion here but I should like to refer you to the appendix to this paper where an extract is given from the publication entitled *Behavioural Goals of General Education in High Schools* by Will French and Associates.[3] One aspect only has been taken namely the general objectives of "growing towards self-realization." It will be noted that this has been broken down into four rather more specific objectives. Each of these in turn is specified further into sub-objectives. For example, (1.1) dealing with intellectual self-realization has three. In turn each of these is broken down further; (1.11) has four further subdivisions. Finally, under each of these specific operational objectives, for example (1.111), is listed a set of illustrative behaviours that specify the outcomes that might be expected. Under (1.111) are given sixteen such outcomes of which I have given only a few as examples. This has been done right through the various areas. The publication gives also modified expectations for less able students.

Quite apart from the purpose such objectives give to school activities it should be noted too that they can and should be given meaning in each of the subject areas offered in the school and on a sequentially developed basis. This does not cut across the legitimate demands of provincial courses of study. In fact it adds to them as well as providing the integrating focus on important long term outcomes.

Any school or teacher concerned with objectives in the instructional program ought to consult those publications which attempt to classify educational objectives. Perhaps the most useful is still Bloom's Taxonomy[4] which in the cognitive domain classifies objectives on the basis of those dealing with knowledge of various kinds (for example specifics, terminology, conventions, trends, classification, methodology, universal principles, theories) and those which call for higher levels of intellectual abilities and skills (for example comprehension, interpretation, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation). An attempt has been made to do the same in the affective domain.[5] Illustrative type behaviours are given.

Other task oriented areas of the organization for which objectives are necessary are as follows:

1. Organization of pupils
2. Allocation of resources — teachers, materials, etc.
3. Development of supporting services —e.g. counselling, library, testing programs, reporting to parents etc.
4. Business and clerical functions
5. Various administrative and supervisory tasks

Some searching questions can be asked about the objectives of current practices and the degree to which current practices are reaching even the hopeful objectives stated. It seems clear that in many cases little thought has been given to the desirable objectives to be achieved in the above areas in relation to the general philosophy of the instructional program.

Activities concerned with the *maintenance of the organization* are those generally which give satisfaction to its members—in this case teachers and pupils. Some of this satisfaction arises from the very fact that the organization has clear purposes and seems to be achieving them. However, much of the satisfaction emerges from the kind of organizational climate and interpersonal relations which exist. The key to this appears to be the administrative staff led by the principal. While much more knowledge is required about how the school operates in this respect we do have some indications that such factors as professional responsibility, cooperative decision-making in appropriate areas, recognition of teachers and pupils as individuals in their own right and opportunities for genuine professional growth are important in the maintenance of a healthy organization. Objectives in these and similar areas can be developed to guide action and procedures. Again the same principles apply with respect to the nature of those objectives which will be effective.

Who Should Decide a School's Objectives?

The development of an organization's objectives is part of the administrative function. Hence the principal has the primary leadership role in the activities which formulate objectives and which review them continuously. However, there is ample evidence to support the view that while the principal should initiate and lead, the best results are obtained by cooperative effort involving teachers in particular but also pupils and parents on appropriate aspects. Commitment is clearly necessary and cooperative involvement in the process of developing objectives is more likely to obtain this.

It is not being suggested here that a school staff should become one big happy family all adopting the same values. Nor is it suggested that authority and responsibility be abdicated in favour of total group decision-making. It is proposed, however, that a school staff, working together on a continuous basis can develop an acceptable set of objectives within which there will be a clear allocation of responsibility at various levels of the organization and which also will give purpose to the further specification and implementation of objectives by each teacher in her sphere of work.

The further question arises as to how objectives in various sub-units and at various levels may be coordinated. Relying on information from evaluation procedures is insufficient and in any case is starting at the wrong end. Not much research evidence is available in schools on the degree of correspondence between the basic objectives of the school and of people at various levels but it seems almost axiomatic that desirably it ought to be considerable. What then does an administrator do?

In discussing this question in relation to the concept of "management by objectives" in an industrial organization Knowles comments as follows:

> One possibility may be for a superior to call his subordinate into the office and say, "I have some objectives I want you to achieve." It is quite likely that imposition of this kind will evoke defensive behaviour, especially if the levels of performance are too high. On the other hand, if the levels of performance are too low, complacency may be encouraged. Also, if the subordinate is held rigidly to the achievement of the objectives, it is possible that he will attempt to shroud his performance in ambiguity so that the true position will never be known. Furthermore, this approach leaves untouched the motivational characteristics that usually tend to be associated with consultative and participative approaches.[6]

As a result of working with people in lower levels of the organization being studied, Knowles was able to say:

> As the whole exercise of setting objectives was repeated, people tended to become aware of the importance of the various dimensions of their jobs, and to view their roles in a broader way. The resulting role expansion is considered to be an important aspect of "management by objectives."
>
> Another important characteristic of "management by objectives" is this. As a person tends to set levels of performance which are realistic, achievement of the target serves as a powerful source of reward. Confidence in his capabilities tends to grow, and the person may increase his level of aspiration by setting more difficult objectives. This increased expression of himself in his job, and the added satisfaction received from his work, leads to greater actualization of the person.[7]

The point does not need elaboration. In the school the principal has a major administrative function to lead the staff and others in determining organizational objectives and then the further role of working with teachers and groups of teachers in clarifying the objectives at the various levels and in the various areas of operations. In the instructional program this can be done to a large degree independently of the particular subject or other area of expertise involved. The principal is a catalyst and need not be expert in all the details; teachers can supply this requirement. The emphasis is on a cooperative organization but with adequate leadership.

In considering who sets objectives some mention should be made of the background of knowledge about education which of itself acts as a determinant. Knowledge about society and its values form one dimension. Another one is the wealth of knowledge about the particular pupils in the school as well as pupils in general—how they grow, develop, and above all, how they learn. Still another dimension is concerned with the structure of knowledge itself and how this is determined in the various areas of learning experience. Finally, there is the sociological aspect dealing with the functioning of organizations and of groups. All this and more constitute the background which, together with the philosophical values and creativity of teachers, leads to the determination of objectives.

In Conclusion

Objectives are the controlling elements in an organization; when properly developed and implemented, they determine the direction and the subsequent bases for implementation. They are the key to evaluation and subsequent redirection. They can both lift up sights and yet be realistic; can give security and yet be challenging; and can ensure that the organization is task-oriented and yet maintain itself as viable and dynamic.

Let us pose my initial question in yet another way:

"Having in mind the many activities which you and your staff can influence and the vital importance of the answer to the pupils in your school, what kind of educational institution do you want to have—say one year from now, two years from now and even five years from now?"

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APPENDIX

Behavioural Outcomes of General Education in High School

(W. French and Associates)

I. *Growing Toward Self-Realization*
    - I.1 Developing Behaviours Indicative of Intellectual Self-Realization
        - 1.11 Improving study habits, study skills, etc.
            - 1.111 Is skillful in securing information and in organizing, evaluating and reporting results of study and research.

                Illustrative Behaviour
                - (a) Decides on purpose before planning action.
                - (c) Consults periodicals etc.
                - (d) Uses common sources of printed information effeciently etc.
                - (n) Develops skill in noting and recording information etc.
            - 1.112 Displays an inquiring mind: is intellectually curious and industrious —*Illustrative Behaviour* etc.
            - 1.113 Can learn independently and shows desire to do so.
            - 1.114 Recognizes the importance of continuing to learn.
        - 1.12 Improving His Ability to Communicate Ideas and to Recognize and Use Good Standards.
(Again broken down as illustrated above)
        - 1.13 Becoming Sensitive to and Competent in the use of Logical Thinking and Problem Solving Processes.
(etc.)
    - I.2 Developing Behaviours Indicative of Growth Toward Cultural Orientation and Integration
(Broken down as before)
    - I.3 Developing Behaviours Indicative of Growth Toward Personal, Mental and Physical Health
(etc.)
    - I.4 Developing Behaviours Indicative of Growth Toward Economic Literacy and Independence
(etc.)

Evaluating A School's Program

W. D. NEAL

A Perspective

The word "evaluation" and its use with other words, as in "self-evaluation" or "evaluative criteria," appear to arouse strong reactions among many teachers. Some, of course, associate the term with projects in which they have participated and in which they were committed to a great amount of work from which little long term benefit emerged—or so teachers allege. Others think of the evaluation of teachers and this naturally arouses their righteous indignation. "What right," they say, "has anybody got to assess us? We are professionals." Other teachers associate evaluation with traditional examinations and testing and who can blame them if these have caused their negative reaction?

Apparently the term "evaluation" has come to mean many things to many people. One reason of course is that it has been applied in many areas and to many processes. This difficulty can be resolved for purposes of our discussion by limitation and definition—which I shall try to do shortly. Of greater difficulty is the communication gap which arises when evaluation is regarded as something special—as an activity which is taken on as a real burden and which is somehow extraneous to the real task of teaching. Evaluating ought to be as automatic as teaching or administering or any other activity carried on in a school. In fact the teaching act is not complete unless evaluation procedures have been built into it.

Hence while it is true that there are occasions when a more demanding project of an evaluative nature might be undertaken, the main approach ought to be such that evaluation is commonplace and the necessary competence ought to be part of the working tools of every teacher and administrator. I see no other possible interpretation if we are to regard the activities of the school as having any rational basis at all.

In this paper evaluation is defined as a process involving:

a) the establishing of criteria related to the objectives of the particular educational activity;
b) the collecting of data concerning the situation with respect to those criteria; and
c) the interpreting of the data and then the making of judgments on the evidence available concerning performance in relation to objectives and the lines of future action.

This is along the lines of traditional definitions of the process but it is well to clarify our terms. A more detailed discussion of the steps involved will be undertaken later.

Where the term "appraisal" is used here it should be regarded as synonymous with "evaluation". The term "assessment" will be avoided since it implies another shade of meaning. Testing, examinations and measurements are all relevant terms but in traditional usage they refer to only part of the evaluative process.

From the above definition it will be noted that knowledge of the objectives of an activity is essential to an evaluation function. Some writers actually include the establishment of objectives as the first step. However, my view is that objectives are the key to the whole educational program and its related activities and that evaluation therefore just proceeds from this base. However, the requirements stated in the preceding paper, namely, that objectives should be specific and stated in behavioural terms whenever possible are equally important to the evaluation process.

I have said already that every activity in an educational organization ought to be evaluated as a natural and rational part of that activity. This does not mean that every part of the organization will be continuously under the evaluative microscope. Some activities, for example, the instructional program will have its outcomes under constant appraisal. Others for example, some administrative activities, might be reviewed only periodically. However, in addition to the need for comprehensiveness with respect to all the various areas of operation there is also the requirement that as many of the objectives as possible within each area be subjected to scrutiny. We have been saying this for a long time with respect to the instructional program, but with so little effect that it must be repeated again and again until the message gets through. If we test only selective objectives then those objectives soon become the only ones which are pursued in schools. This, of course, is the result from our testing and examination systems, especially the external examinations, which force schools to emphasize limited objectives and many of them not the important ones.

It is difficult to talk rationally about external examination practices since those who support them ignore the evidence concerning even their own claims for their advantages. In any case this paper is not on that topic; however, schools surely have to avoid perpetuating the same system on other grades of pupils any more frequently than is absolutely necessary.

A corollary to the above comment is that if schools change their objectives they should at the same time change their evaluative criteria and procedures. For example, a school which puts more emphasis on catering for the individual student in say, non-graded organization has very little use for common examinations. Objectives stressing individual differences mean individualized teaching and all its consequences and, obviously, individual testing and evaluation. All this seems obvious but what is happening in practice?

A further perspective is that evaluation is less than adequate if it takes place in an atmosphere of anxiety and hostility. In fact valid evidence is likely to be concealed —whether it be for teacher or pupil. Furthermore the regular presence of such an atmosphere is indicative that the major benefit of evaluation, namely an assessment of growth so that positive progress can ensue, is not being developed.

Finally, in this section it seems necessary to point out that the mark of a good evaluation system is not the percentage of failures which has been obtained. There is no virtue in failure on the basis of maintaining some so-called artificial "standard". Those who fail are usually those who can stand the strain least well but they have been subjected to a history of failure. In many cases it is the organization which has failed because it has had either inappropriate objectives or inadequate evaluation procedures. I am of course leaving aside those students who fail from lack of effort or from unrealistic parental ambition.

What has emerged from the discussion so far seems to point to the need to look very carefully at the purposes of evaluation.

Purpose in and Purposes of Evaluation

While it was said earlier that the main reason for evaluation was to see how well the school was doing, it becomes clear as we proceed further that any particular evaluation activity must have a much clearer purpose if it is to make a real contribution. This can be illustrated by looking at appraisal in the area of the instructional program. Here the main emphasis in much of our evaluation will be on obtaining data about pupil performance in relation to our objectives and the criteria we have established. However, our purpose in making this appraisal is important. Are we interested in comparing pupil achievement against some norm? Or are we interested in the much more productive task of diagnosing strengths and weaknesses in performance so that positive action may be planned? There is a place of course for many purposes in evaluation. Schools have to, from time to time, measure a pupil or a group of pupils against norms; they have to mark, grade and report on pupils; and also unfortunately they have to provide data for predictive purposes such as matriculation.

However, these purposes do not lead to anything like a complete evaluation program. The more important task, with respect to pupil performance, is to build evaluation procedures into the very core of the teaching and learning process so the purpose of regular and systematic checking is done at the most appropriate time for the learner and contributes to his motivation. Hence the emphasis will be on such procedures as placement and diagnostic testing. The common examination given at pre-determined times just because the specified month rolls around should be a thing of the past. Students are evaluated when they have made the necessary progress and this largely on an individual basis although the procedure can apply equally to small groups of students. This is not just fantasy. Our objectives make the claim—to meet the individual needs of students. Pupils learn at different rates. How can we possibly support common evaluation procedures for anything but a very limited purpose?

The same stress on knowing what precisely we have in view applies to evaluation of the curriculum as a whole or to evaluation of teachers—with the same emphasis one would hope on the positive diagnostic and remedial approach. Of course our purposes must be intensive and comprehensive if we are to test out the many objectives of the program and also the many instructional and organizational devices we use—at present often on the basis of hope only.

Having in mind some clear conception of what evaluation should and can do helps us also to avoid making exaggerated claims for it. For example, our difficulty in establishing clear criteria about good teaching ought to make us cautious in the interpretation of data about teachers. However, the main point I want to stress in this connection is that evaluation procedures as defined can make only a partial contribution to decision-making about the appropriateness of our objectives. Suppose we change the objectives for a particular course of study—say as has been done in mathematics and physics. We can evaluate how successfully we are in achieving those new objectives; we can compare achievement under the new course with that under the old for *those objectives which are common, if any.* Indeed there is a strong case for this kind of research activity on a much more extensive scale provincially and within schools than is currently the practice. We can also make some decisions as to whether the new objectives are realizable for certain students or whether they should be modified.

However, on the question as to whether the new objectives in mathematics are better than the old ones we need a different kind of judgment procedure. It is necessary to look at the determinants of objectives, that is, information about society, structure of knowledge, learning theory, pupil characteristics and so on, together with appropriate value judgments arising from a soundly based philosophy.

The Evaluative Process

Earlier, evaluation was defined as the process involving:

a) the establishing of criteria;

b) the collecting of data; and

c) the interpreting of the data and the making of judgments.

It is necessary now to take a more detailed look at this process. As outlined, it represents the traditional or classical evaluation model. To function effectively it depends on the proper completion of each stage. If we confine our attention to the instructional program for the moment we might illustrate very simply what is taking place with the following diagram:

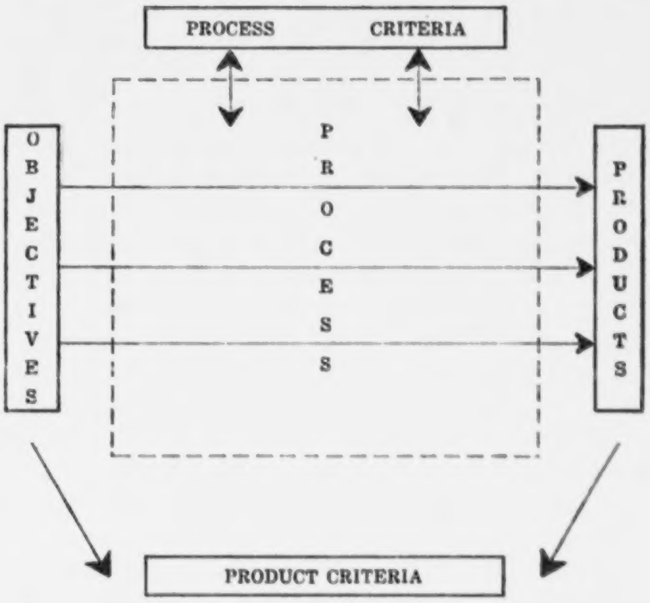

Figure 1

The Instructional Program and Sources of Criteria

The instructional program is shown as proceeding from objectives through process to result in certain products. Objectives, of course, are expected to meet those standards of specificity and behavioural characteristics already discussed.

The area labelled as process is made up of such components as:

a) course of study (i.e. curriculum planned);

b) various aspects of organization of curriculum within the school; and

c) units of instruction, i.e., specific teaching units around more limited parts of the curriculum with their own objectives; selected learning experiences; teaching methods; instructional materials; and built-in testing devices.

The product area of course represents the outcomes of the instructional programme in terms of the changes in behaviour (or learning) actually resulting.

Turning now to the evaluation process one source of criteria arises out of the objectives of the program. They may indeed be the objectives themselves if these are sufficiently explicit and precise. However, in many cases it will be necessary to add to the objectives a specification as to the degree of mastery that is acceptable and perhaps the conditions that must be met. Suppose that one objective is "the ability to translate non-literal statements (metaphor, symbolism, irony, exaggeration) to ordinary English." Knowing the level of student involved we could fairly readily accept this objective as a criterion and draw up suitable evaluative procedures. We would later have to interpret our data in terms of expectations of how much the student should be able to answer. However, if we take another objective such as "the ability to apply principles to new situations" we have considerably more qualifications to make before we have our criteria. These qualifications will emerge from an examination of the particular curriculum, the learning experiences of the student, and so on.

Some further discussion of criteria in general will be undertaken later; the main point to be emphasized is that product criteria which can be based directly on suitably developed objectives should enable us to at least start the evaluation process with a good chance of making valid decisions. To follow through this process requires the correct development of data collecting techniques such as tests and observations, to give the information on which interpretation and judgments are made.

Unfortunately the classical evaluation model as outlined above often is not applicable in a number of situations. Firstly, it is difficult to establish product criteria if the objectives of the curriculum cannot be expressed in behavioural terms. Some of our objectives are intangible and still others, while intellectually based, are difficult to specify. I refer to such objectives as those dealing with personality development and those dealing with say creative thinking. We are concerned also with integrated growth and development and the completely analytic approach to objectives does not cope adequately with some of the more general objectives. A second factor which may cause a breakdown in the model is that despite years of developing testing programs and considerable recent advances, there are still large gaps in our ability to develop valid data collecting techniques.[1] A third reason is that some of the educational outcomes may refer to behaviour which will not be fully developed until many years after schooling is finished. Long term studies of what happens in real life situations are needed but they do not help our immediate evaluative problem. A fourth reason is that behaviour results in part from school and in part from effects of many other influences. We cannot isolate always what the school has achieved.

Hence it is necessary to look for supplementary criteria which may be used as the basis for evaluation. These may be developed out of that area in the diagram in Figure 1 which has been called the "Process". For example, if we look at the *conditions of learning* which guide the educational process we can find a number of criteria which ought to be present. Our current information suggests for example that criteria could be developed around such principles as:

a) motivation—as essential to learning;

b) reward—which should be positive, related to effort and as immediate as possible;

c) transfer of training—which takes place only under certain specified conditions;

d) problem solving—or inquiry—or discovery—a central part to learning of the learning emphasis; and so on.

The argument being advanced here is that if the process of education is being carried on in accordance with soundly established psychological and educational criteria, then there is a strong possibility that the products will be satisfactory. Many of the criteria that we now use, fall in this category of process, but we should recognize the indirect nature of their relationship. They do not replace product criteria. They can help to fill gaps in the evaluation process and can indeed supply supplementary information.[2]

Of course the evaluation procedures based on process criteria are still the same. We still have to devise valid data collecting techniques about the degree to which criteria are being met. This may encompass testing and observation as before but again we lack sufficient knowledge about adequate techniques in some areas. The interpretation and judgments about our data may be somewhat more difficult but not impossibly so.

So far the illustrations given have referred to the instructional program. However, other activities of the organization can and should be evaluated too. For example, what kind of criteria should be used to evaluate aspects of the administrative process? Again the procedure is the same. We require a knowledge of objectives from which we develop criteria, some of which may be the product type. In many activities we may have to rely rather heavily on process criteria. It is worth noting however, that some of the criteria we have labelled as *process* for the instructional program are really the *products* of our administrative process. An example might be in the area of organization of learning experiences and of pupils. Process criteria related to instruction would be such things as:

integration — i.e. sequential learning experiences;
continuity — i.e. reinforcement and mutual effort;
flexibility — i.e. a variety of groupings and other arrangements.

Administration in this respect within the school is aimed at producing these very conditions, i.e., the end products aimed at become process criteria for the instructional program. Hence there appears to be an interlocking of criteria which reinforces the validity of the evaluative process. Some of the criteria may arise from the *structure* of the organization. They may indeed be a different type again from product or process. In fact we recognize that, as well as achieving the task for which the school exists, another purpose of the school as an organization is to maintain itself in a healthy state to continue as a viable entity, and therefore also with the flexibility to adjust to changing circumstances. A variety of criteria will be needed for evalutive purposes.

Sources of criteria. The emphasis in discussing criteria with respect to evaluation has been up to this point on broad principles and classification. It is necessary now to examine sources of criteria in some greater detail.

The first possibility is to use one of the statements of criteria developed by various organizations: An example would be the statement developed for secondary schools by the National Study of Secondary School Evaluation (formerly the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards).[3] The major emphasis is on the instructional program although other aspects of the school's activities are included. Another source might be the publications of the Alberta Teachers' Association which are quite extensive and cover most of a school system and school.[4] There are, of course, many similar publications too numerous to mention.

On of the difficulties with such published criteria is that they do not distinguish sufficiently between the type of criteria being advocated, namely whether process, product or other. This causes considerable difficulty in precise collection of data and also with the interpretation of information gathered. A second difficulty, which is in effect a byproduct of the first, is that many criteria are not defined precisely enough even in areas where greater precision is possible with our present knowledge. A third difficulty again related to those already mentioned is that evaluative criteria developed on a generalized basis do not necessarily apply to a particular school with sufficient precision to be as useful as they might be. The publication *Evaluative Criteria,* already cited, avoids this to some extent by stressing the need to ascertain the objectives of a particular school first and proceeding accordingly, a precaution which many others do not state explicity.

The criticisms mentioned of various published statements of criteria are not intended to imply that they are not useful as a starting point. Many valuable evaluation projects have been undertaken in this province and elsewhere using these statements as a guide. It is necessary however, to give considerable time and study to the adaptation and interpretation of such statements before they are used in any particular school.

Another valuable framework of reference is the use of a classification system of educational objectives which not only helps to ensure a comprehensive set of criteria but also emphasizes the variations in the nature of objectives and hence criteria. Mention was made in the preceding paper of the Taxonomies of Educational Objectives. Another useful and somewhat simpler scheme—which again applies mainly in the instructional program field is that developed by Ebel.[5] The emphasis is on tests and test items but the implications are clear. He suggests the following categories, which have been rearranged and adapted slightly from the original to make them more significant for our purposes:

1. *Vocabulary objectives*—responses based on knowledge of terms;
2. *Fact objectives*—responses based on specific observations on restricted statements;
3. *Generalization objectives* — responses based on extensive groups of events, observations, experiments; or deals with principles, conclusions and trends;
4. *Understanding objectives* — responses require knowledge of casual factors, purposes, interpretations, explanations;
5. *Application objectives*—responses demand problem solving, judgment, evaluation, originality in dealing with new specific situations etc.

Whatever classification scheme is used the advantage is that there is a comprehensive approach to the formulation of product criteria, and hence a more valid evaluation of the total desirable objectives of a school.

When we come to process criteria the situation is somewhat more difficult; however, it is possible to develop in some areas quite precise criteria. Earlier in this paper it was suggested that a desirable principle related to the *conditions of learning* of the instructional program would be that emphasis is placed on problem solving. There would be little difficuly in establishing precise criteria and subsequently measurement techniques to evaluate the degree to which this principle is being observed. It could be measured directly in some learning areas also.

With other process criteria we might be forced into less precise definitions. One useful practice is to use a scale consisting of say five points which might be labelled inferior, below average, average, above average, superior. Typical descriptive statements are then developed for selected points, for example, inferior and superior.[6]

As an example of how this may be developed, we might take the principle *motivation* which was suggested earlier as leading to process criteria in the area of conditions of learning. If we were considering the social studies curriculum bench marks might be set as follows:

> *Inferior*. The content is rigidly prescribed in the course of study and little attempt is made to vary the material to the local environment. Interest is not used as a basic ingredient of learning either by building on pupils' experiences or on developing motivation through success and pride in mastery of skills and principles involved.
>
> *Superior*. Motivation is developed by creating conditions which require students to build on experience of their environment. Emphasis is on the social world around them and students are encouraged to do research in depth, to undertake guided field experiences, etc. Interest is encouraged by helping students to acquire mastery of the concepts and skills involved and to test and demonstrate these for themselves.

If we turn now to the development of process criteria related to an area other than the instructional program it is possible to use the same technique. For example we might want to evaluate the effectiveness of *communication with staff* as part of the administrative function. The following example could be used.[7]

> *Inferior*. Little attempt is made at staff communication. Information that is available often consists of hearsay and rumours and tends to lead to low morale and confusion.
>
> *Superior*. Staff personnel are kept well informed of school system policies. . . . A variety of informational material is used including, where appropriate, meetings, bulletins, newsletters, personal conferences, workshops and staff handbooks. . . . Specific provision is made for two way communication.

The collection of evidence on such criteria is possible and can be made more useful by observation and recording of specific items which back up the interpretation made. Space precludes any further development of this topic on criteria. It is vital to valid evaluation and to the subsequent effect on the school's direction of endeavour. It has been pointed out that a number of useful sources and frameworks exist to help in establishing criteria. Statements of evaluation criteria, taxonomies of objectives and principles arising from our knowledge about learning, administration, etc. are valuable sources. However, the stress I would place is that these are most useful when used by a school to develop its own criteria related to its own objectives and specific to its own situation.

Some of you may wonder about the role of standardized tests and various other forms of achievement tests. Undoubtedly they furnish valuable information — but limited. At present, and perhaps this will always be the case, the available tests and examinations do not come anywhere near to being an adequate basis to judge a school, quite apart from the other undesirable consequences of over emphasis to which I have already referred.

Collecting data. The techniques to be used to collect information related to the determined criteria depend also on the purposes of the evaluation. Whatever techniques are used, the main function is to ensure that they provide the opportunities for the real behaviour under examination to emerge. Such well known requirements of objectivity, validity and reliability apply to all techniques and not just to testing.

One type of device and the most common one with respect to product criteria is testing. The range of techniques is increasing and some useful tests are available in certain aspects of the more complex forms of intellectual activity.[8] Typical tests are those published by the Educational Testing Service (*Sequential Tests of Educational Progress*) and Science Research Associates (*SRA Achievement Series*). Even some of the intangible objectives are yielding to evaluation techniques of the testing kind. However, the various kinds of tests still leave large gaps. In addition, they often must be adapted to the requirements of the instructional program of Canadian education generally and of a particular school. Unfortunately, the Canadian educational scene lags in developments of this type.

Other techniques are available, however, for use by interested schools. They include:

(a) Observational techniques which can be structured in various ways;
(b) Questionnaires, attitude scales, inventories, etc.;
(c) Interviews and structured group discussions;
(d) Records of various kinds — anecdotal as well as statistical.

Some of the publications on evaluative criteria and procedure give suggestions on ways of collecting evidence.

Again with respect to those areas of the school's activities other than the instructional data gathering techniques are less well developed. Some instruments are available which at least give possibilities of adaption.[10] In general, however, the more informal type of technique as listed has to be employed.

Some technological devices add additional possibilities for the collection of information. The tape recorder, and the film and television camera can be used from time to time as appropriate and if available. Furthermore, the increasing use of the computer helps in processing data of a quantity and complexity which have been beyond reasonable compass until quite recently.

Interpretation and judgments. A mass of data of itself carries little direct message about the state of operation of a school. It is the stage of interpretation and judgment that perhaps call for the most demanding and creative thought. Out of this may emerge further questions on which information must be sought. Certainly an end result may be a review of many aspects of the school and some redirection of energies and resources.

The basis of interpretation will depend, naturally, on the original purposes of the evaluation. However, some general comments are appropriate.

Comparison of group performance or of individual performance against norms or standards will yield useful but limited information. New and more perceptive dimensions are injected if we ask questions such as the following:

(i) What is the performance of the class, or of the pupil,
(ii) or of the teacher compared with what it was, say, three months ago?
(iii) What educational growth has occurred? Is it satisfactory? What is performance against abilities?

(iv) How does administrative performance measure up against the resources of the school?

A second fruitful approach, again involving an analytical technique may emerge from a detailed interpretation of sub-parts of an evaluative instrument. A profile of performance may show imbalances which are masked if the total performance only is examined.

The principle of cooperation in and commitment to the evaluation process has been suggested throughout. In the interpretation and judgment phase the need is even more apparent if productive consequences are to emerge. The whole effort is wasted and frustrating if the maximum possible effort is not put into establishing new directions where needed in the school's operations or if a mass of information stays on the shelf.

Examples of Evaluation Projects

It is possible to give only a few examples here. The most fruitful forms of evaluative studies appear to be where the emphasis is on cooperative effort — as has been suggested already. Some of these emerge as self-evaluation projects and this concept can be developed for evaluation by a school, by an individual teacher and by pupils. Indeed with respect to pupils there is increasing recognition that to attain some of the most desirable learning outcomes and to cater more adequately within our resources for individual differences, there must be increasing emphasis on self-instructional methods and materials. Self-evaluative techniques are a logical consequence. Some examples of these are programmed learning and the development materials in Reading Laboratories and Science Laboratories published by the Science Research Associates. The Science Laboratories illustrate also the possibility of teaching and testing to different objectives classified by depth in intellectual effort but within the one class of pupils.

The above examples are narrower in scope and directed in the main at the continuous evaluation closely associated with ongoing teaching and learning. Nevertheless this is important and has useful implications for wider evaluation projects.

On a wider basis attempts have been made in the publications already cited, to define the areas which might be subject to evaluation. For example the National Study of Secondary School Evaluation deals with the following:

(i) Philosophy and objectives
(ii) School and community (data about pupils, the community and community agencies).
(iii) Program of studies (in general)
(iv) Individual subject fields, e.g. mathematics etc.
(v) Supporting services (library, guidance, etc.)

With respect to the process criteria related to the instructional program the article by Neal already cited proposes that five areas might be examined and principles from which criteria can be developed are listed. The areas are:

(i) Nature of learning experiences
(ii) Organization of learning experiences
(iii) Conditions of learning
(iv) Learning materials
(v) Learning climate

Some studies have been undertaken in Alberta on administrative aspects of schools — perhaps not aimed specifically at evaluation but they could be used by an interested school staff. In particular the report on the "Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire" is interesting material.[11]

In addition a number of schools in Alberta have undertaken self-evaluation projects but unfortunately there have been few published reports. One that is available, however, is the study in the Medicine Hat Public School System.[12] The system used a combination of self-evaluation and external evaluation and spent a year and a half developing a philosophy, then an instrument for evaluation, finally collecting the data. The external evaluation followed and then another year and a half was spent in interpretation and follow-up studies. The report indicates considerable satisfaction on the part of teachers, greater understanding of objectives, strengths and weaknesses and challenging consequences in follow-up programs, inservice activities and teacher growth.

Conclusion

Adequate evaluation is an important and necessary activity in our schools, Without it we are groping in the dark, our objectives are distorted and we are in danger of being ineffectual. Ideally we should be engaged in continuous evaluation of all phases of a school's activities. Possibly a cautious start in one area might be more appropriate in that we can develop rigour and competence before extending into wider fields. Perhaps a useful first question might be: "How can we evaluate and improve our evaluative procedures?"

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Teachers: Employees or Professionals?

D. A. MacKAY

The question embodied in the title of this paper is only part of a larger question, namely, what is the role of the teacher? This is, of course, an extremely difficult question to answer especially as one recognizes that the teacher role in a province like this one is really an amalgam of many sets of expectations as to what a teacher should be and do. There are legal definitions of teacher duties and responsibilities to be found in the School Act and in various other enactments of provincial and local governing bodies. There are the code of ethics and standards of professional conduct of the teachers' organization; there are the skills and competencies which teacher education institutions demand of their graduates; there are the expectations for teacher behavior in the minds of pupils, parents, school board members, administrators, and members of the general public. Surely an attempt to strike a single definition which will accurately reflect all of these sources is a most difficult task. Nevertheless, if those who are concerned with teacher behavior as they play this difficult role do not attempt to understand it, only trouble will result.

In order to narrow the scope of this particular paper, only some of those elements of the teacher's role which are most affected by what a school administrator does will be considered. To this end, teacher behavior in the classroom and school will be the focus of attention. Elements in the teacher role which have to do with his legal rights, his status in society and so on will receive at most passing mention.

In order to raise some of the issues which surround and perhaps define the question about teacher roles, a typology of teachers will be presented. Then, some requirements which an organization must make of its members will be identified. What might be called the "conflict hypothesis" will be stated and briefly examined; finally, some problems associated with the whole business of staff improvement and the principal's contribution to this purpose will be discussed. The basic purpose of this paper will be to provide administrators with the possibility of increasing their insight into just what the teaching job is.

A Typology of Teachers

It must be noted that the so-called typology of teachers identified here does not purport to be the definitive theoretical analysis of the teacher role. It is, rather, a set of perspectives on the teacher; that is, a number of different ways of looking at teachers or of classifying them and their activities in order to better understand them. Since there are many different ways of analysing the job or the role of the teacher, this analysis will give only a sampling of the various models, typologies, and so on, which might be used. In fact, only four such perspectives will be used here. They are: (1) teacher "stances", (2) specialist or generalist, (3) personality types, and (4) professional or employee.

Teacher stances. The analysis of teacher stances has been carried out by research workers at Michigan State University, particularly Corman and Olmstead.[1] As part of a teacher education program, some sixty-four elementary school teachers were followed through the first three years of their careers. A battery of tests was administered to them at the beginning and end of the research program. The basic data were obtained through a number of depth interviews which were carried out over the three year span. What the researchers sought from this data collection was the point of view developed, by each teacher, about their relations with pupils, teachers, and administrators. On the basis of their analysis, Corman and Olmstead identified seven patterns of teacher attitude into which the sample of teachers could be classified. These patterns, or categories, or *stances* provide a rather useful means of thinking about the kinds of teachers who may be found on the staffs of schools in any Canadian province. They are as follows:

(1) *The Child Focusers.* This type of teacher was highly committed to the individual pupil. Other teachers and administrators were seen to be of minor importance in comparison with the pupil.When conflict arose, these

teachers were ready to serve as defence attornies.

(2) *The Pragmatists.* These were the "organization men" who tempered their concern for the child with a practical regard for the demands of the organization. These teachers were flexible in their response to the demands of the situation.

(3) *The Task Focusers.* For this group, the tasks of the curriculum were most important. They saw the inculcation of traditional values as being an important function of the school. The curriculum itself was seen, by this group, to consist of "solid" and "soft" subjects; the student body consisted of "good" and "bad" pupils.

(4) *The Contented Conformists.* These were the technicians. Other teachers and the principal ranked high in importance for them; teaching was seen as a job like any other one with its techniques and its satisfactions.

(5) *The Time Servers.* They resembled the Conformists, but were not particularly happy to be teachers. They were fearful of authority and lived in a world of cliches and formulas as far as their teaching performance was concerned. Order in the classroom, which made teaching less difficult, was held in high regard by members of this group.

(6) *The Ambivalents.* These teachers behaved much like child focusers, but were continually troubled by conflict between what they felt they should do and what they would be permitted to do. Deep cynicism pervaded this group.

(7) *The Alientated.* The main element which members of this group had in common was dissatisfaction with teaching. Only financial limitations kept them in teaching and active resistance to authority was a typical response for them.

It should be noted that few significant differences among the groups existed on such variables as sex, age, marital status, and socio-economic background. Some personality variables did come through as correlates of membership in a particular group. For example, what Corman calls "feminine personality patterns" were associated with membership in the Conformist and Time Server groups.[2] In terms of academic aptitude scores, Conformists had the lowest scores, while the Alienated had the highest. As far as academic achievement was concerned, the Child Focusers were highest, while the Alienated were in the middle range, and the Conformists at the bottom.

Probably the main point to be made of this analysis is that it was possible to identify seven patterns or types of attitude, with the possibility of associated behaviors, among members of a sample of teachers. These teachers were much like teachers anywhere in terms of such biographical data as sex, age, aptitude, academic preparation, and so on. Yet, as members of school staffs and as performers of the job of teaching in the classroom there were acute differences in their approach to teaching as represented in these seven stances. For the school principal, this suggests the need for a rather perceptive look at staff members. This is a rather obvious need for administrators in any organization; perhaps what this and the other analyses in this paper can do is suggest a greater degree of tolerance and acceptance of the differences among teachers. Coupled with this tolerance may be some administrative strategies which will make the best possible use of the strengths and provide reasonable safeguards against the weaknesses in performance by staff members. More will be said in this regard in the final section of the paper.

Specialist or generalist. Another way of categorizing teachers is as specialists or generalists. While specialist teachers have been until very recently a feature of secondary schools only, there is growing support in the literature for an increased degree of specialization at all grade levels. The fact that this specialization tends not to have taken place in many school systems is just one concrete indicator of the relatively low degree of school system rationalization. In any case, there are some specialists in the schools even though the deployment of teachers in terms of their specialties is far from perfect. Since there are specialists, the process of education, that is the set of activities in which pupils are involved, is not a standard entity from one school system to the next. What a teacher does as a specialist in junior high school science is really quite different from what the teacher of a self-contained grade six classroom does. Not only are the activities different, but the competencies required for the activities are different. In fact, one may suggest that the specialist teacher presents an administrator with problems which are different from those rising from a self-contained classroom, or generalist teacher situation. Some of the dimensions on which specialists and generalists differ, and which are relevant to the school administrator are presented here in four main categories with, in two cases, some sub-classes. Again, the attempt to identify some of the elements in a typology of teachers has guided this analysis. It is an incomplete analysis, but again is intended merely to widen the perspective of those who work with and must better understand teachers. The features considered here have to do with: (1) the academic preparation of the teacher, (2) classroom teaching activities, (3) administrative relationships, and (4) personality. These categories and the sub-classes or dimensions within them are shown in Figure 1. The dimensions themselves require a good deal of elaboration which goes beyond the limits of this particular paper. Most of them are self-explanatory; but a few words of description of each dimension and the possible placement of the specialist and generalist along the dimension will be provided.

Scope of academic preparation is related to the diversity, in terms of variety of university courses, to which the teacher has been exposed. Typically, the generalist teacher (if he has been properly placed in the school system) will have gone through a program of greater scope as defined here. As far as *intensity* (which is really the obverse of scope) of preparation is concerned, the specialist will likely be higher.

In terms of activities in the classroom, one important fact is that specialists will typically be required or be fortunate enough (depending on one's viewpoint) to *repeat* some of their activities with different classes. This is represented in Figure 1 by the *repetitiveness* dimension. As far as work-load is concerned, there are implications here for administrators. Classed under the heading of "administrative relationships" are three dimensions. The *control of resources* dimension is offered as a suggestion that a group of specialists in a particular field (e.g. "the math department") or an individual (e.g. "the Phys. Ed. instructor") will tend to acquire control over physical and human resources beyond those of the typical generalist classroom teachers. One hesitates to use the loaded term "empire building" in this connection; but consciously or not, there is likely to be some increase in subunit or specialist control over resources in comparison with the control which is in the hands of the generalist teacher.

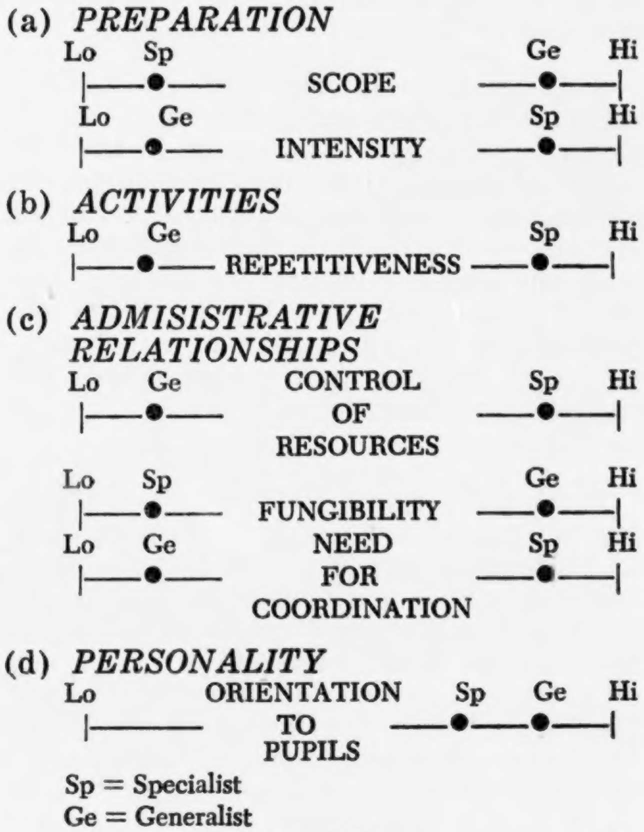

FIGURE 1
DIMENSIONS OF TEACHER SPECIALIZATION

Fungibility refers to the degree to which a staff member is able to fit into a variety of jobs. On this dimension, the generalist is, almost by definition, higher than the specialist. There are implications here for placement and for replacing staff members. The *need for coordination* dimension reflects the fact that specialization brings with it a need for coordination. For administrators who are concerned with supplying coordination, the presence of specialists on a school staff has important implications. A whole host of activities and functions stem from this requirement for coordination; the administrator who fails to recognize the need is bound to have trouble. Put in a homely way, the easiest kind of school to administer is the collection of "one-room schools under a single roof," in comparison, say, with a highly departmentalized comprehensive school.

As a small example of the sort of dimensions which could be looked at under the heading of personality features, one attitude or a set of attitudes towards pupils has been singled out. One can suggest that on this basis, the specialist may feel the importance of his subject area tugging at his loyalties, and, that, although he is "pro-pupil", he is not quite as pupil-centered as the generalist teacher is.

This analysis is based on speculation rather than upon any systematic set of empirical findings. It is rooted in the tradition of speculation and research on organizational behavior in schools and other organizations which is now available. As with the analysis of teacher stances, this set of dimensions may highlight the importance of the specialist/generalist categories as factors upon which school administrators must focus in their attempts to understand what a teacher is.

Personality types. Rather than attempting to open up a whole field of speculation about teacher personalities, two pieces of research which produced some interesting facts will be discussed briefly. The first of these is the Von Fange study of personality types among administrators and teachers.[3] Using the Myers-Briggs Type Inventory which is based on Carl Jung's typology of personalities, he found some clustering of personality types among his teacher sample, and, of course, some examples of almost every possible type identified by his research technique. For example, the most common type, among both male and female teachers, was, what Von Fange called, the "judging extravert" who is interested in things as they are rather than in future possibilities. Although this was a modal type, around which many teachers clustered, there were other types as well. An extraverted, perceptive type, interested in future possibilities, was identified. Here was, in Von Fange's words, "the enthusiastic innovator who sees new possibilities, new ways of doing things, or entirely new things that might be done."[4]

The second piece of research which can be considered here was carried out by Brown in 1961.[5] He subjected a sample of student teachers to conditions of stressful supervision. The subjects had been tested by a battery of instruments which get at various aspects of personality. When the student teachers were classified on the basis of tests of neuroticism and anxiety, it was the most anxious and most neurotic group which suffered most from stressful supervision. As a matter of fact, the low-neurotic and low-anxiety group improved their performance after stress had been imposed. The point which emerges from this part of Brown's work is that different personality types respond in different ways to one and the same brand of administrator behavior. Coupled with Von Fange's findings, this indicates that teachers' personalities, even in those elements which are susceptible to measurement, differ markedly and that the response of administrators to these differing needs can only occur when the differences have been accurately perceived.

Professional or employee. Finally, the analysis implied in the title of this paper examines teachers in terms of an employee - professional dichotomy. Whether or not this is really a dichotomy may be argued. If, as the literature suggests, professionalism is itself a multi-dimensional concept, then one surely can conceive of an organization member being more or less professional on one or more dimensions or variables. This notion has in fact been embodied in the work of Corwin.[6] It has also been used in some fairly recent research on the Canadian scene. For example, Hrynyk, in his study of professionalism among Alberta teachers, found variation on such dimensions as: an emphasis on knowledge, orientation to service, orientation to the professional organization, colleague orientation, and autonomy.[7] In a study carried out in British Columbia, Robinson used a similar approach to the examination of the professional person in a bureaucratic organization and, like Corwin, suggests that professionalism is not an either-or sort of thing but really consists of a cluster of characteristics which are more or less descriptive of a role or of a person.[8] One can go back to the question about an employee - professional dichotomy and, on the basis of this emerging research tradition, say that teachers are likely to be neither pure type professionals nor pure type employees of the non-professional sort. All of this adds up to the conclusion that a typology containing "professionals" and "non-professionals" is not really adequate. What one can see is a set of dimensions of professionalism along which members of any organization can be placed. Moreover, there are dynamics of change and development associated with this approach which suggests that teachers, for example, may become more or less professonal with the passage of time and concomitant changes in themselves and their environment. The fact that Hrynyk and the other researchers found differences among teachers, that the Alberta data are quite different from the B.C. data, suggests that "professionalism" as it applies to teachers is a cultural or subcultural phenomenon rather than an absolute classification term.

There is reason to argue on the basis of the research cited here that teachers in this province generally hold attitudes which may be described as highly professional. This set of attitudes includes some which are of relevance to administrator behavior. To take just one such attitude — "the orientation towards teacher autonomy in the classroom" — if teachers hold this as a norm for their behavior, then school administrators must be cognizant of this norm and take account of it in their own behavior. In this regard, Hrynyk found that administrators typically held this aspect of professionalism in lower regard than did teachers. While administrators may not want what they might call "too much" teacher autonomy, they will have to recognize teacher views on this question, and respond in a meaningful fashion.

In summary, one may argue that, in comparison with employees of other complex organizations such as factories, department stores, government services, and the like, teachers probably have attitudes which can be called professional. They may not be as professonal in their attitudes as are members of the "traditional" professions such as medicine and law; but they are "fairly" professional.

Since this professionalism includes not only the widely circulated notions about service to the client and adherence to a code of ethics, but also a demand for autonomy and a reliance on knowledge as a basis for decision-making, the school administrator cannot expect to act as if he were head of a department store, a brewery, or an army unit. An organization staffed by persons who want to behave as professionals is one which places very special demands on its administrators. Not only their behavior on a day-to-day basis; but the kind of organization they help to establish will be successful only insofar as it takes account of this professionalism.

Organizational Requirements

One must not look at the relationship of teachers to the school organization as a one-way thing. Concomitant with the survival and goal-achievement of an organization are certain requirements or demands which must be met. Among these are the need for some predictability and control of the behavior of members. Unless the organization exists solely for the benefit of its own members some output criteria must be applied. It is at this point that the possibility of conflict will emerge. The problem may become one of administering an organization so as to achieve goals and still meet the demands of individuals for their own satisfaction. In the four analyses presented in this paper, the emphasis was upon the many ways in which teachers and their roles can differ. It was perhaps an attempt to sell the idea that the "individual differences" cliche is as applicable to teachers as it is to pupils. The analyses suggested that, although all of the differences must be recognized, some of them are more relevant to the organization and administration of the school than the others. It is clear, for example, that how teachers feel about autonomy in the classroom has significant implications for the supervisory functions of principals and other administrators. That is why one tends to focus upon the professionalism syndrome in attacking the problem. But it is equally clear that how a teacher responds to criticism is another important attribute of which administrators must take account. The personality of the teacher is, thus, seen to be important. Again, it was argued that the specialist-generalist dimensions, particularly those which impinged on the organization and administration of the school, deserved consideration.

The teacher "stances" identified by Corman again underlined the need for tolerance of different performance levels among teachers.

Knowledge of all of these differences, coupled with the organizational needs for control lead to the "conflict hypothesis."

The Conflict Hypothesis

In simple terms, there are, at least, three possibilities as far as individual-organization conflict is concerned.[9] First, conflict may be inherent in the very existence of human organizations. This is the view implicit in popularized sociological works like *The Organization Man* or in novels such as *Executive Suite, The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit,* and so on. It is also the view held by those who might be classified as anti-administration and who appear to be present in fairly large numbers in all types of organizations. In the blue-collar or khaki-collar worlds this set of attitudes is usually forthrightly described. The same kind of view in more august circles may masquerade as academic freedom or something of the sort. The question which must be raised is to what extent the conflict is inherent because of man's attempts to control his fellows? A second point of view is that there is no real conflict at all. This is the "happy family" approach to organizational behavior. It may be an accurate description for a religious organization or the local symphony society; but its applicability to a school organization is probabilistic. A third viewpoint is that there is some conflict; but that not all conflict is inherent. Some of it results from the particular way in which the members and/or those who administer the organization respond to the duality of needs described above. Since, as this view suggests, some conflict is the result of specific behavior, then a different set of responses should affect the level of conflict. This view, that conflict is mitigated rather than inherent, leaves room for maneuvering by the administrator. If one does not adopt this view, there is little that one can do with his situation. He becomes either a pollyanna or a defeatist and talks too much about the uniqueness of every situation, the "impossibility of changing human nature," and looks for sweeping solutions (if indeed he recognizes problems) such as a complete change in staff, a different job for himself, or an overnight and complete shift in organizational structure. The point of view offered here is that these grand-scale solutions are neither adequate nor possible.

Staff Improvement and Organizational Adjustment

What is more likely to be effective is the kind of insightful analysis of teachers which has been the main theme of this paper. With the set of perspectives presented here a school administrator might be able to identify possible sources of trouble before it occurs.

Since some of the problems stem from the duality of organizational needs and individual teacher roles an approach which implies this duality is likely to be the best one. In order to suggest what this approach does *not* include, it would seem useful to discuss two other possible approaches to the same set of problems.

One approach is to change the teacher somehow so that his behavior is in harmony with the organization's requirements. The word which probably sums up this approach is *manipulation.* Of course, manipulation has long been discredited in the literature of school administration; but a critical analysis of much writing, especially of the exhortative type, lends support to the argument that manipulation, or, put in more acceptable terms, the "staff improvement" approach is still with us. This is not to say that improvement in the technical competencies of staff members is not a goal for administrators; it does suggest that much of the talk about good "staff relations," the "group dynamics" approach to problem-solving, and so on, is really symptomatic of a "change the teacher" approach. In this stereotypical view, a good staff is one wherein the members "fit in well," are well "oriented", and so on. The organizational structure does not change, the teachers are merely tailored, in a painless way, to fit the organization. One should be careful in talking about "staff improvement", not to fall into the trap of assuming that change in staff members' behavior is a possible, a desirable, or an adequate solution.

A second approach, and equally extreme, is to attempt to remake the organization in the image preferred by its members. This may be, for want of a better term, called the Anti-Procrustean approach. Instead of making the victim fit the bed, tear it apart and rebuild it to fit the victim, in this case the organization member. This, and one is being facetious here, may also be called the "democratic approach to decision-making."

What one wishes to avoid are both of these extreme approaches. Obviously neither the individuals nor the organization are completely susceptible to change. One therefore should not behave nor even talk as if they are. Certainly adjustments and modifications can occur on both sides. But there are inherent limits on the adaptability of both the organizational structure and its members.

What may be a realistic and useful approach is to look for points of congruence between organizational demands and individual needs. For example, both the individual and the organization can be seen as desiring some measure of predictability. For the organization, this may mean long-term stability; for the individual, this is translated into the magic word "security." Again, in a technical organization where skills are required by the rational organization, if staff members hold professional views, they too will see technical expertise and competence as desirable features. Again, the organizational demands reinforce rather than conflict with individual professional needs.

Where demands are not so reconcilable, even on paper, some kind of compensatory mechanisms should be built in. Most obvious is an exchange system whereby staff members are paid (in monetary or other terms) enough to reduce their dissatisfaction with some features of organizational life. This time, the teacher is seen not just as a professional person with his own special likes and dislikes, personality whims, and so on, but as a complex creature some of whose motivations stem from economic or physical factors. Working conditions, and so on, are no doubt an important consideration for school administrators including principals. While the tradition of research in administration has tended to reduce one's reliance on economic motivation alone, it is one of the factors which can be manipulated and negotiated and which perhaps has important effects upon conflict situations.

In summary, this non-extremist appproach (in typical Canadian fashion, it is a middle-of-the-road approach) takes account of differences among teachers. It recognizes that there are some inherent sources of conflict; but that there are also ways in which organization demands and individual needs coincide. Further, it suggests that there are ways of compensating for sources of conflict so as to mitigate rather than remove them. It may be called "pragmatism" or, more accurately, "realism"; in any case, as a way of viewing the teacher in the organization, it seems to be a most defensible approach.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted, as its main goal, to emphasize the fact that teachers are different from one another in many ways. Four analyses were used to exemplify some of the dimensions on which teachers differ. In each case it was noted that certain differences are highly relevant to the organization and administration of schools. The fact that differences exist was related to the need which organizations have for predictability and control of members.

Finally, the nature of individual-organization conflict was superficially examined and some commentary on the suitability of various approaches to the conflict problem was offered. The hope is that the analyses provided here will increase the awareness of administrators as to the complexity of the human organizations in which they work, and that the proposed approach, if not adequate in itself, will at least suggest a point of view from which to attack the problem.

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Is The Principal A Leader?

D. A. MacKAY

If one keeps in mind the complex nature of a school organization, complex because of the diversity among the human elements as well as because of technical complexity itself, it ought to be clear that the role of the principal is likely to be also highly complex. This complexity of the principal's job stems from the multiplicity of tasks which he has to perform and from the fluidity or dynamism of the situation in which he works. Of course the practitioner can attempt to simplify his job by "freezing" the situation into a predictable and rigid structure, or, at least, put it into slow-motion so that he can respond, in a more leisurely way, to the demands of the job.

Throughout the literature of administration there is a constant theme which emerges from or is used to unite all the commentary about the many tasks and aspects of the administrator's job; this common theme is summed up in the almost mystical word "leadership." This thing "leadership," if indeed it is a valid concept at all, is urged upon us as the *sine qua non* for those who would be administrators. In education, one reads and hears a great deal about "instructional leaders" who are usually seen to be a cut or two above mere administrators or supervisors. In fact, one begins to speculate as to whether the "leader" is some kind of transmuted administrator, who, in some unknown way, has won the recognition and willing acceptance of his followers. Of all the positions in education to which the term "leader" has been applied, the name of the principal, like Abou Ben Adam's, seems to lead all the rest.

Rather than assuming that the principal is or should be the "leader" in his school, this paper shall proceed from the premise that this is a debatable question. In order to throw some light on the question, a number of problems will be discussed. First, the question as to whether administrator behavior really makes any difference will be raised and discussed. Perhaps the assumption that administration makes a difference is the one that must be carefully examined by principals. Then, some of the concepts and theoretical formulations regarding leader behavior will be briefly presented. Research findings, many of which are fairly widely known, will be used to indicate the relevance of leader behavior to certain features of school operation. Some speculation regarding the true nature of these relationships will be presented; finally, some special issues which flow from the nature of school organizations and their implications for the principal as a leader will be identified.

Does Administration Make a Difference?

One of the assumptions underlying the establishment of administrative positions, and which obviously motivates those who operate various training programs for administrators, is that what administrators do has some impact on the school. As has been said many times before, the form of this assumed impact is twofold. First, administration is assumed to have some effect on achievement of organization goals. Second, it is assumed that administration affects the well-being of the organization. The terms which have emerged to describe this dual impact are "goal-achievement" and "group maintenance." These have proven to be fruitful concepts in the analysis of organizational needs and administrative behavior. Implied in the literature is a set of relationships among administrator behavior, goal-achievement, and group maintenance. Before summing up what these relationships might be, it would be useful to elaborate briefly upon each of the terms in the relationship.

When one speaks of "administrator behavior," one is obviously emphasizing that what the administrator *does* more than what he *thinks* or *says* is important. Of course, only a limited set of behaviors within the whole set of his behavior is of concern here. What matters are those behaviors as an administrator rather than as a teacher, a citizen, a Rotarian, or any of the other roles which a particular administrator might play. In order to limit administrator behavior in a way which is relevant to the operation of an organization, social scientists have developed the concepts of "initiating structure," and "consideration" as descriptions of behavioral patterns which pertain, respectively, to goal-achievement and group maintenance. So, out of all the possible aspects of administrator behavior, two which have emerged as significant, are these. While it is not the purpose of this paper to suggest that these two factors are the only important ones, they will be used to help illustrate some of the relationships, conclusions, and speculations which may throw light on the basic questions regarding the principal as a leader.

"Goal-achievement" in the school setting is a difficult thing to define; if it is difficult on a conceptual level, it is even more difficult at the empirical level when quantification may become important. Schools obviously have goals set for them by society and by those who control and work in them. Statements of goals which are found in the literature range from highly general things such as "inculcating the cultural heritage" down to specifics (and this is a real example) like "to learn how to sharpen a pencil." Attempts to measure the goal-achievement of schools have typically fallen into two categories: (1) the study of long-term outcomes, and, (2) the study of short-term outcomes. Studies in the first category have looked at such indicators as the effect which schooling has upon the earning power of its graduates during their working lives, or the effect that investment in schooling during one time period has upon some economic indicator (e.g. G.N.P.) at a future time. Studies of the second type have been much more common and have typically used indicators like achievement test scores, university success, retention rates, and so on, as measures of goal achievement. Everyone knows that these types of measures do not adequately provide an evaluation of the school's productivity or goal-achievement. Implicit in them is the assumption of a further connection between these fairly "hard" indicators and the intangible goals which the school may have. At the root of the analysis of the leader behavior of school administrators is this whole set of assumptions that goal-achievement (in all its meanings) is somehow affected by what the administrator does.

More will be said about this assumption later; for the moment, the "group maintenance" term should be examined. This concept includes, as the term, itself suggests, the notion of survival and "health" of the organization; it refers to elements like stability of membership, satisfaction, morale, a high degree of motivation, cohesiveness, climate, and, in part, any one of a dozen terms which are seen as real, or, at least, semantic indicators of an organization's well-being.

The relationships which may be posited among these three terms are illustrated in Figure 1.

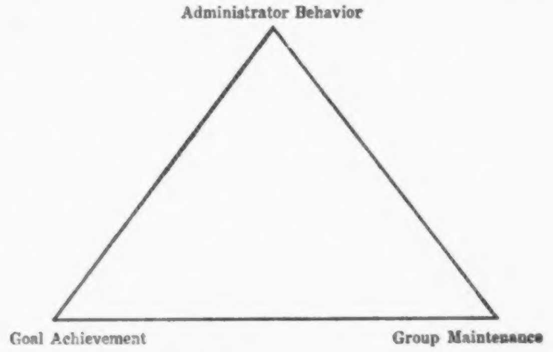

Figure 1*

Relationship of Administrator Behavior to Outcomes

The basic assumption under discussion here is that what the administrator does has an impact on each of these "out comes."

This may be viewed as a direct, twofold relationship. Or, it may be broken down so that a particular piece of behavior by the administrator affects only one or the other of these outcomes. This, in fact, is what is implied analytically by the researchers who have worked with the various versions of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire. Also implicit in the figure, and in the set of hypothetical relationships which it depicts, is an indirect or two-stage relationship wherein administrator behavior affects some element of group-maintenance (e.g. morale) which in turn has an effect upon goal-achievement. This latter relationship is the one at which writers, who emphasize the motivational function of the administrator, are getting. There are other relationships, at least, other directions to be found in the figure. These may be neglected in this paper in order to move to a discussion which is more pertinent to the particular topic under review.

To provide a partial answer to the question regarding the importance of administration, one narrow band within the spectrum of possible indicators of goal-achievement has been chosen here. This is the achievement-test score which was identified above as merely one indicator of over-all goal achievement. In a study completed in 1963, Greenfield conducted a systems analysis of a sample of Alberta schools.[7] He selected, on a random basis, a sample of school districts; then, within each district, he selected a sample of schools; within each school, he next selected a sample of grade nine classes. This kind of sample enabled him to take account, in a systematic way, of differences in achievement which could be attributed to differences between systems, between schools, and between classes. For all the pupils in the selected classes, he obtained the Alberta Department of Education grade nine examination results. The analysis which he used to obtain information about probable sources of differences in achievement took account of pupil differences in aptitude and socio-economic status. In Table I, the results of one part of Greenfield's analysis are shown.

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* "Outcomes" in this figure is used to describe the results of administrator behavior, which includes the organization's goals as such, and also, the administrative "goal" or "outcome", group maintenance.

The analysis used to obtain these figures enables the researcher to say what per cent of variance in the pupil achievement scores is attributable to differences between classes, schools, or districts. To take just one of the subject areas reported on in the table, in grade nine mathematics 63.27% of the variation in the scores was attributable to differences among the individual pupils. Aptitudes as measured by the S.C.A.T. scores was an important contributor to this high percentage. What are more important for the question at issue in this paper are the differences in math scores which resulted from differences among the classes, schools, and districts. These, together, accounted for 36.73 per cent of the variance. Each one of the possible sources accounted for a statistically significant portion of the variance in mathematics marks. Similarly, in every case reported in this table, the differences which resulted from the pupils being in a certain classroom, or a certain school, or in a certain district were statistically significant. These data reported by Greenfield are presented again in a slightly different way, in Table II. In this case, the variation in scores which was due to pupil differences has been left out of the calculation and the figures in Table II show what per cent of the total between group variance is attributable to each of the three sources. This further analysis of the data was done in order to emphasize the applicability of Greenfield's findings to the topic of this paper. For the sake of an example, the language score may be examined. Some 49 per cent of variation was due to differences between classes; 14 per cent was attributable to between school differences, while 36 per cent stemmed from differences between districts. It is these latter two figures which provide the tentative answer. If one can argue that "administration" including administrator behavior is one component of the differences between schools and between districts, then administration is one of the things which made a difference on this very concrete piece of evidence about goal-achievement. As far as school principals are concerned, the 14 per cent figure is the one which matters. Although it is not a large percentage it was statistically significant, and, from that viewpoint, did matter.

In a rather long and winding way, some evidence has therefore been produced which suggests that the relationship between "administrator behavior" and "goal-achievement" is probable. Implicit in this finding of Greenfield is the possibility that what made the schools different from one another, in a way which affected pupil achievement, was something about its "climate" or "health" or its level of group-maintenance.

An Analysis of Administrator Behavior

Assuming, for the sake of this discussion, that research such as that reported above, and one's hopeful assessment of reality, tend to support the notion that administrator behavior really matters, it would seem in order to describe the analysis of administrator behavior to which reference has already been made.

Leader behavior defined. In the research tradition from which this paper draws, "leader behavior" is usually used to describe what the formally appointed (or elected) leader of a complex, formal organization does in the performance of his role. At the same time, the literature is replete with references to so-called "leadership acts" which may be performed by any member of the organization and which make a contribution to or affect the dual outcome of achievement and maintenance. In the discussion which is to follow, the first or narrow definition will be used.

TABLE I

GREENFIELD'S ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE (N= 2,069) *

Source of Variation	Subjects				
	English Lit.	English Lang.	Social St.	Math.	Science
Residual (within)	63.17%	65.72%	66.33%	63.27%	69.38%
Total between	36.83%	34.28%	33.67%	36.73%	30.62%
Between Classes	17.22%	16.90%	18.38%	14.29%	18.11%
Between Schools	6.31%	4.82%	4.79%	6.90%	4.05%
Between Districts	13.30%	12.56%	10.50%	15.54%	8.46%

* Adapted from Greenfield, *op. cit.* TableXIV, p. 138.

TABLE II

SOURCES OF BETWEEN SUB-SYSTEM VARIANCE*

Sources of Variation	Subjects				
	English Lit.	English Lang.	Social St.	Math.	Science
Between Classes	46.76%	49.29%	54.59%	38.91%	59.14%
Between Schools	17.13%	14.06%	14.23%	18.79%	13.23%
Between Districts	36.11%	36.64%	31.18%	42.30%	27.63%

* These figures are obtained by dividing the percentages in the appropriate parts of Table I by the total variance accounted for between groups.

Later in the paper, in the discussion of the importance of the "group" in a school, the second definition will also be employed.

Theories about leaders. To lay the groundwork for the discussion of the behavior of the formal leader, a thumbnail sketch of the main schools of thought on leader behavior should be useful. The *traits theory* suggests that leaders have certain characteristics which mark them out from other men and make it likely that they can or will be leaders in a variety of situations. The usual lists of traits include everything from intelligence and integrity to height and health, not omitting zest and zip. The Great Man hypothesis which has enjoyed much support among some historians and biographers has been woven into the traits theory. Inevitably, the great political leader showed "signs" of his potential even as a small boy. In other words, he had the traits which were needed by and predictive of a successful leadership role. All of this makes some good common sense; unfortunately, the empirical research based on this "theory" has failed to provide support for it. Counter to the notion that leadership is a kind of cluster of traits which indicate universal capabilities on the part of their possessor, the so-called *situationist theory* was developed. It emphasized the different requirements of different kinds of organizations and groups in terms of the qualities required of their leaders. A good situationist in the U.S. Republican party, for example, would never have picked General Eisenhower for president. Luckily for the party, the American electorate were themselves not adherents to the situationist theory of leadership. While the situationist view tends to mitigate the weaknesses of the traits theory it has major weakness itself. Carried even part way to a logical extreme, the situationist demands an uniquely qualified leader for each organization. The problem of training leaders or of transferring them from one position to another then begins to outweigh the supposed advantage of having a tailor-made leader. It even becomes difficult to talk about leader behavior in a general way because the uniqueness of each situation makes generalization impossible.

A third approach and one which relates to the relationships discussed in Figure 1, is variously known as the *structural-functionalist approach* or the "theory of social role." Here the emphasis is not upon what qualities the leader should have, nor solely upon the requirements of a specific situation; but upon the general functional requirements which all organizations have and upon which the behavior (i.e. what the leader *does* rather than what he is) of the leader may have some effects. These general functions are the two identified earlier, namely, goal-achievement and group-maintenance. The leader behaviors associated with these have been grouped conceptually (and empirically) under the headings initiation of structure, and consideration. The first refers to leader behavior which pertains to goal-accomplishment; the second refers to leader behavior related to group-maintenance. This last formulation which emphasizes leader behavior as functional to an organization has proven to be a useful way of examining what goes on in organizations and is also useful in discussing, with administrators, their approach to the job.

Some research on leader behavior. Research into leader behavior has stemmed largely from the Ohio State studies of the forties and fifties. From their work came the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire in its various forms and the basic research in this area was carried out by members of the same rather large team of social scientists. Perhaps the name best known in education is Andrew Halpin who has been influential as a communicator of this particular research tradition.* In this paper only a small sample of the existing studies will be reported. To set the stage for this review, it is necessary to give an adequate definition of the terms used and to describe a framework for analyzing or classifying leader behavior. The term "Initiating Structure in Interaction" is used to describe behavior, by a formal leader, which delineates the relationships between himself and members of the work-group, and establishes well-defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and methods of procedure. Consideration, as a dimension of leader behavior, refers to behavior indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between the leader and members of his staff.[2]

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* For a thorough analysis of the research tradition on leader behavior, see T. B. Greenfield, "Research on the Behavior of Educational Leaders: Critique of a Tradition." Paper read at A.E.R.A., New York, 1967. (Mimeo.)

When the thirty item LBDQ is used on a research sample, each leader (e.g. each school principal) whose behavior is described by his staff members is assigned a score on each of the two dimensions. For any given sample of leaders, the scores on each dimension may usefully be dichotomized into those above and below the mean score, or into "high" and "low" scores. Such a dichotomy is artificial, of course, because the scores are really on a continuum. But as an aid to thinking about general "types" of behavior, they serve some purpose. It is important, while using these aids, to keep in the mind the reality of the range and distribution of scores which underlies a general analysis of this kind.

In Figure 2, the typology of leader behavior is shown. The subdivision of each of the two LBDQ dimensions produces a fourfold table. In quadrant I are those behavioral types which are high on both dimensions. These are the "effective" or "strong" leader types. In quadrant II is the type who emphasizes structure; but apparently neglects consideration. He is only partly an effective leader; but may be useful in certain types of organizations or at certain stages of organizational life. He may be, in a military setting, the effective peace-time drill master. In public administration, he is close to being the classic bureaucrat who lives (and dies) by the book. In quadrant IV is the type who, while being highly considerate, does not establish a well-defined organization. Put in other terms, he is the idiographic leader type as opposed to the nomothetic type in quadrant II. Finally, in quadrant III is the type who has low scores on both dimensions. He is neither a "good organizer" nor considerate of his staff. As a stereotype he is a veritable Colonel Klink of television fame.

With these four general types in mind, it will be possible to refer now to the studies which form part of the important research tradition mentioned above.

The U.S. studies. Halpin summarizes the results of the basic work on leader behavior in education as follows:

1. Both dimensions are fundamental to leader behavior and the L.B.D.Q. is a useful device for measuring them.
2. Effective leader behavior requires high performance on both dimensions.
3. Superiors and subordinates tend to evaluate the desirability of each dimension in opposite ways. Superiors are more concerned with Initiating Structure, while subordinates emphasize the importance of Consideration as an "ideal" for their leaders.
4. Changes in attitudes of group members and changes in group characteristics are apparently affected by leader behavior. High scores on each dimension are associated with favorable group attitudes and characteristics.
5. There is only a slight positive relationship between the way leaders believe they should behave and the way they are described as behaving.[3]

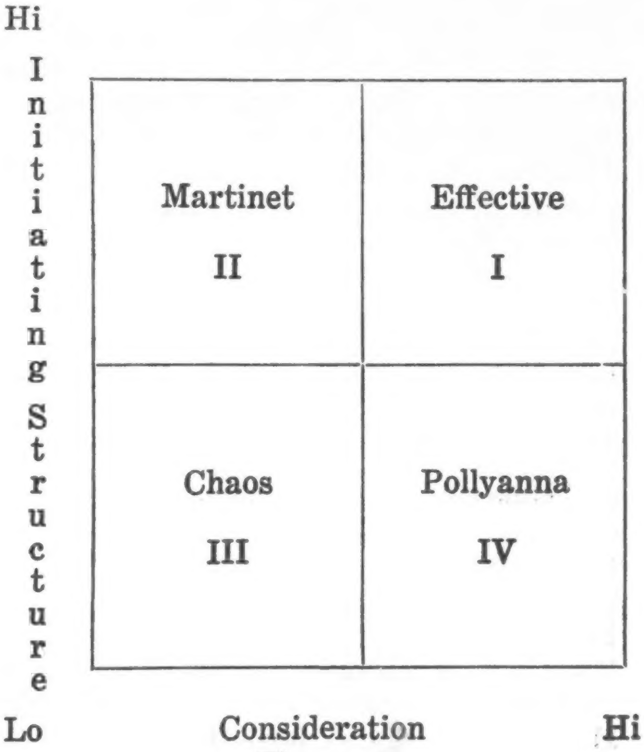

Figure 2
Types of Leader Behavior

Some Canadian studies. The contribution to this research tradition made by Canadian (chiefly Alberta) researchers has been highly significant. To what extent these findings have been disseminated to practitioners is a moot point; but there is a fairly abundant literature which is directly or indirectly based on these studies. Therefore, one presumes that their impact on the knowledge of practitioners has been fairly significant. To mention a few of the studies will lay the groundwork for a bit of speculation about the import of this work and of its significance to the practitioner. Keeler found that high scores on both dimensions were associated with a high level of pupil performance.[4] At the same time, there was little evidence of relationship between leader behavior and staff morale as he had defined it. In an earlier study, McBeath found that the leader behavior of classroom teachers (as reported by pupils and others) was significantly related to their rated effectiveness.[5] Again, high scores on both dimensions were associated with higher effectiveness ratings. A related study by Greenfield used scores on grade nine examinations as the criterion measure and, again, both dimensions were significantly related to "pupil growth."[6] Fast's study of teacher satisfaction showed that when teachers saw their principals as scoring high on both dimensions, they (the teachers) were highly satisfied with the school.[7] Finally, Stewart's study of principals in Australia showed that those who were rated as more effective by superintendents scored high on both dimensions.[8] Interestingly enough, superintendents emphasized the Initiating Structure dimension while teachers emphasized both dimensions.

Some industrial studies. Some appreciation of the complexity of the relationships described above may be gained from an examination of one or two of the findings from studies carried out in industrial organizations. These are reported by Dubin and, in fact, much of the discussion which follows relies on the basic insights which Dubin and his co-workers have provided.[9] Rather than talk about correlation coefficients in numerical terms, the relations discovered in the industrial studies are depicted in Figure 3: (a), (b), and (c).[10]

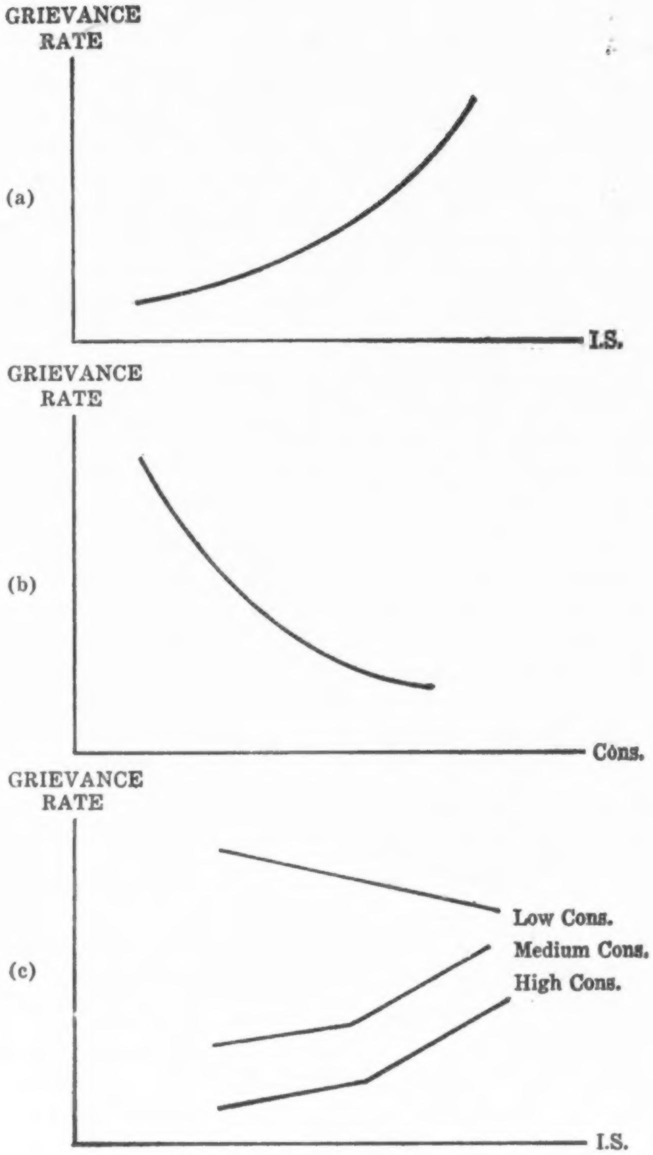

Figure 3

Relation of Leader Behavior to Grievance Rate

In these particular studies, the criterion used was employee's grievance rate. A high grievance rate was obviously seen as an indicator of "poor" relationships, while a low rate was thought to be symtomatic of "good" or, at least, "smooth" leadership. The curve in Figure 3 (a) shows that high scores on the Initiating Structure dimension were associated with a high grievance rate. Similarly lower scores on the I.S. dimension were associated with low grievance rates. As leaders emphasized organization, there was apparently a negative kind of effect upon employee satisfaction with conditions. As shown in Figure 3 (b) high scores on Consideration were associated with low grievance rates, indicating that employees reacted favorably to considerate behavior by supervisors. These two findings coincide with those described earlier in this paper. A slightly more refined analysis of the same data resulted in the relationships shown in Figure 3(b). This time, three conditions or cases were established on the basis of the consideration score. These were the low, medium, and high consideration cases. When all the leaders whose scores on consideration were low were examined, it was found that higher scores on initiating structure were associated with lower grievance rates. But, when the scores of leaders who were "high" in consideration were analyzed, it was found that an increase in Initiating Structure brought an increase in grievance rates. The same relationship was found among those leaders who were classed as "medium" in consideration. The conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that one should not look at the simple two variable relationships; but should take account of the interaction between and among complex sets of variables.

A critique. Further to this line of thought, two different interpretations of one set of data are pictured in Figure 4. The research tradition on leader behavior seems to conclude that certain criteria such as productivity, morale, social structure, and the like, are associated, in a linear way, with scores on the LBDQ or its derivatives. The use of correlational analysis and its basis in the fitting of a linear model to bivariate relationships inevitably leads to this straight line solution. On the diagram, the solid line indicates this sort of interpretation. Simply put, "more" Initiating Structure or "more" Consideration lead to high scores on whatever criterion is used. Conversely, low, leader behavior scores are associated with low criteria scores. Thus, if one interprets the Keeler findings, for example, in this way, one will say that a little consideration produces low pupil achievement, a little more consideration produces mediocre pupil performance, and a high degree of consideration is likely to produce high pupil performance. If one were to extrapolate beyond this linear interpretation, one would adopt a "more the merrier" approach to administration and look for really top level achievement from pupils in schools where the principal is a super-considerate type. What is said of this dimension of leader behavior is applicable to initiating structure as well; what is inferred regarding pupil achievement is applicable to the various other criteria such as teacher satisfaction, rated effectiveness, and so on. But, and this is a question which emerges from Dubin's analysis, what if the linear interpretation is not true. What if, for example, the relationship is curvilinear in nature? In the same Figure 4, the broken line indicates one such curvilinear relationship. It is the familiar (to social scientists) S curve. Let us suppose that such a curve is the one best fitting a set of data. What it shows is that a slight increase in one of the leader behavior dimensions results in only a slight concomitant increase in criterion score; but at a certain point, a little bit more of consideration, or structure, or whatever, results in a dramatic increase in the criterion score. At still another point, there is a levelling off so that increases in leader performance have little or no effect upon criterion scores. This interpretation suggests that "a little consideration goes a long way," that the relationships are more subtle than those assumed by the linear interpretation, and that practitioners who would be guided by this research tradition would do well to take account of these possible subleties. As a major weakness in some of the existing research, the lack of adequate examination of these relationships is significant. Interestingly enough, Stewart did check for curvilinearity in his data and

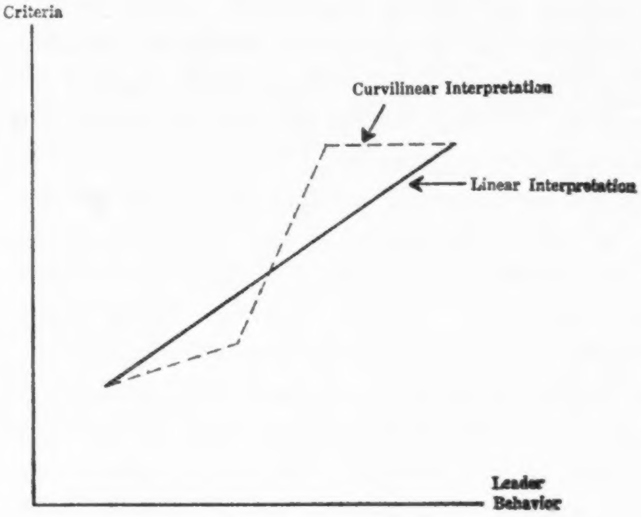

Figure 4
Possible Relationships Between Leader Behavior and a Criterion

found that the relationships he reported were essentially linear in nature. This then is a problem for researchers; but it may be useful as a conceptual tool, to look at leader behavior in terms of these two different interpretations.

When school principals learn that consideration is a "good thing" they may also ask themselves "how much is needed" and, as this discussion indicates, they have every right to ask this question. There is perhaps a range of behavior within which the principal's performance as a leader will be adequate while below the lower limit of this range he will be inadequate. Performance above and beyond the upper limits will be alright; but will really add nothing essential to an already adequate performance.

If the "true" nature of relationships between leader behavior and various criteria of goal achievement and group maintenance is as intricate as suggested here, the implications for the behavior of practitioners are manifold. For the sake of argument, one may assume that the relationships are intricate and subtle and then talk about a realistic approach to the leader behavior of school principals.

A Realist's View

First of all, it is important to note that just one position in school organizations is being dealt with here. Nothing that is argued here necessarily applies to central office or other senior executive positions in school systems. Furthermore, the position of principal is, itself, far from being a standardized one. Differences in size and type of school, differences in the organizational framework of the school system, and in the social environment of the school are some of the factors which make this position such a varied one. Therefore, what is said here is general in the sense that it treats all principalships as if they were identical, yet specific, in that it focuses only upon the principal and not upon any of the other administrative positions in education.

At the outset, it should be stressed that this so-called "realist's view" is that the school principal is only one, albeit a significant one, of a large number of persons involved in the operation of a school system. While, as has been suggested earlier in this paper, administration does have an impact upon certain outcomes of the school's operation, the principal's contribution to this has not been adequately defined. All we know at the moment is that principals seem to affect what goes on in their schools. Much of what we rely on has a common sense rather than a scientific or a research basis. Principals are continually being urged to be instructional leaders, curriculum developers, and so on; what might be a more realistic view would suggest that the principal can only do a limited number of things and that he ought to examine his own job performance with a proper set of priorities in mind. To draw upon an old army cliche there are things which he *must* do, things which he *should* do, and another category of things which he *could* do. In this scheme of things, the school principal would make the fundamental contributions which his and no other position in the system can supply. Then, after all the basic functions have been served, he can move to the *should* and *could* categories.

The contention of the realist view of the principal as a leader is that leader activities or behavior fall into the *should do* category. In other words, in spite of the many references to leadership and the need for strong leaders in schools which one finds in the exhortative writing in administration, the point of view held here is that there are other things which should enjoy a higher priority. Why this position is taken and why it is called a realistic position requires some explanation. So much is expected of leaders and the relationships, as already indicated surrounding leader performance are so complex, that really superior human beings seem to be required for leadership positions. The pool of candidates for the position of school principal is of an especially limited type; the numbers possessing the capabilities required for even a mediocre level of performance may be quite small. Moreover, so little is known about the development of educational leaders that one tends to be discouraged. When one is faced with a supply-demand problem in personnel administration, there are several alternatives to be followed. These can be applied independently or jointly to obtain a solution or, at least, a *modus vivendi*. The alternatives include: finding the right persons to meet the job requirements (this is the ideal solution), developing the incumbents or would-be incumbents so as to make them competent (this is the staff development approach), or reorganizing the operation so as to require different capabilities for the position-holder (this is the realist position). For example, when one cannot obtain the services of a fluent French teacher, one buys a language lab in order to make the teacher's job in oral language a different one, one that requires different (or "less") competency from the teacher. This is done in order to recognize the demands of the situation. In the selection, appointment, and direction of administrators, less attention may be paid to the competency gap between available persons and job requirements. The possibility that this neglect will occur is greater when the position is as vaguely defined, in terms of recognized criteria for success, as the school principalship. While the position is not, and should not be, a standardized interchangeable thing from one setting to another, there are surely basic fundamental competencies which ought to reside in this position. If one says that every principal *must* be a full-blown leader, one is neglecting the competency gap. One is, moreover, establishing misleading criteria for evaluating the principal's performance, and establishing unrealistic goals for in-service administrator training programs of various sorts. No one, of course, says this sort of thing. But this view may well be implicit in an overemphasis on leader behavior.

What may save the day as far as this rather discouraging picture is concerned is a careful definition and limitation of the principal's role in terms of its "leadership" aspects. One recognizes that there has been a good deal of research on the "role of the principal," however, because of the particular sociological theory base which has been most widely used, the research tradition has focussed upon role expectations. What emerges is a realistic picture in terms of what people have in mind when they think about the principal's job; but it is, unfortunately, not necessarily a rational analysis of what the job should be in an ideal or quasi-ideal sense.

On the other hand, one finds prescriptive statements of what the job of the principal should be. School boards and some senior administrators seem to be prone to offering this sort of thing. The point is that attempts to lay down on paper what the principal's job is are legitimate responses to the needs of operating a complex organization. School boards want to have some criteria which they can apply in making decisions about the principalship. Senior administrators want to know how they can usefully employ their principals as part of the school system's control and decision-making mechanism. Most of all, the principals themselves, and teachers on their staffs, want to know where the principal's job begins and ends.

In the face of this "felt need" among practitioners, the contribution of the researchers has not been too helpful. One reason for this inadequacy is that it has been necessary to find out what the situation now *is* before designing approaches which are more scientifically or technically based. Some writers have, of course, leaped over the obstacles and been ready with recipes for the administrator. In the concluding sections of this paper, there will be a tendency to become more prescriptive than is usually the case and to offer some exhortative argument about the point of view which principals should adopt toward leadership. Since the suggestions offered here will deal with a point of view rather than with the operational details of behavior, the recipe-book approach may be a little less dangerous than usual.

What Kind of a Leader Should He Be?

First, it should be said that leadership is obviously related to authority. In fact, the kind of authority upon which a person relies is probably one of the best indicators of his over-all leadership style. The classic analysis of authority suggests that there are, at least, four sources or types of authority: (1) traditional authority — based on the conventions and customs which have developed in a subculture or organization over the years; this is really descriptive of how willing the members have become to accept authority; (2) legal authority — based on the written rules and job specifications of the organization and/or its governing bodies; (3) personal authority — based on the respect which a particular person is able to command by the virtue of his own behavior and traits; in extreme forms, this is sometimes called ***charisma;*** and (4) professional authority — based on competence and knowledge of the technology in which the organization is engaged.

If, as was proposed above, leadership is closely related to authority, one can look at the principal, as a leader, in terms of these types of sources of authority. Clearly, the principal has one important thing going for him. He is, after all, the formal leader of the school and enjoys all the power and authority conferred on that position by legislative decision. Moreover, he has at his disposal the power which has accrued to the position as it has been filled by various of his predecessors. In the minds of the teachers on his staff are sets of viewpoints (or "expectations") about his authority. This set of expectations will tend to either augment or lessen his effective legal authority. His personal "charisma" and his professional competence as a teacher, and as an administrator will also add to or subtract from the sum total of his authority.

Therefore, it is important to note that any legal statement of the principal's authority is not, in itself, sufficient. However, as suggested above, it is a start. What principals ought to do is find out what their formal position is and then meet this rather minimal requirement. In order to do this, they will have to commit themselves rather fully to the organization and its goals. For them, as administrators, the dual goals of administration described earlier (goal achievement and group maintenance) will have to be important. In other words, to expect that technical competence is enough is to see leadership as a manipulative skill which can be turned on or off as the situation requires. As shocking as it may seem, what is being suggested here is that the principal must be an "organization man" in the best sense of the term. He must see himself as an administrator rather than as merely a head teacher. For him, the major audience should be his staff members rather than the pupils. Through the staff and its activities, he can make a contribution to the pupils.

While openly accepting the formal position of leader which goes with the title, the principal would do well to recognize that legal authority is limited. In fact, one could argue that whatever authority the principal had over teachers is gradually shrinking. However, it has not yet completely disappeared and if all principals accepted the responsibilities and authority still residing in the position, a significant increase in their "leadership" status would have occurred.

One of the notions which social psychology has contributed to the study of leader behavior is that, in any human group, there are likely to be several leaders. In fact, leadership acts may be carried out, at different times, by almost any member of a group. In a school staff, there may be teachers who play the leader role many, many times. A principal who fails to recognize this is in trouble; moreover, failure to encourage these "other leaders" will limit the effectiveness of the organization and make his own job an impossible one.

Linked with the acceptance of authority and responsibility, and recognition of the other leaders who are likely to be available in a school, should be an authenticity of behavior. This simply means that you can't fool people for very long by going through the motions of democratic decision-making, good "human relations," and the rest. There is no known way for a non-leader to dupe his followers into accepting him as a leader for any extensive time period.

Underlying this limited view of leadership is the further notion that the principal can contribute to the operation of a school by serving as what has traditionally been called a "functionary." That is, he facilitates the activities of staff members and pupils. Answering the phone and the mail, keeping records, allocating time and space, and obtaining material and human resources become important as means and not merely nuisances for the would-be statesman-educator.

What is being said here is that not everyone can be a leader in the best sense of the term; but one can learn to serve the organization by using the authority, the access to resources, and the all-important access to channels of communication, in order to facilitate and improve the operation of the school. This is not to say that some or many school principals will not display the behavior of "real" leaders; however, it does say that the present state of affairs suggests a more limited view of the minimum requirements for the principal's performance. If he is a "leader," all well and good; if not, let him contribute in a functional way to the school's operation using his authority with pupils, parents, and so on, to increase the effectiveness of his colleagues.

Conclusion

In this paper, it has been argued that differences in goal accomplishments by schools are partly attributable to differences in "administration". Included in the sources of difference are probable differences in the leader behavior of school principals. The main approaches to the study of leader behavior were identified and briefly described. Some of the research tradition in this field was summarized and certain speculations about the interpretation of the research findings were made.

As the main point of the paper, it was argued that not all school principals can be leaders in the full sense of the term. Therefore, a rather limited view of the principal's role was set forth. This stressed the importance of accepting and using the authority which goes with the position, of recognizing and encouraging leadership acts from other staff members, of behaving authentically, and of developing a commitment to the organization as its servant rather than as its high status leader.

For practitioners, the argument simply says: Evaluate your own position in terms of your capabilities as well as in terms of the strengths inherent in the position itself. Estimate the level of commitment which you are prepared to make to the organization; then adopt an approach which openly illustrates your view of how a school leader should behave.

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Students and School Organization

D. FRIESEN

If the conceptual boundaries of the school organization can be extended to include student-clients as an integral part of the organization, a number of significant implications arise. The major assumption of this paper is that students are *members* of the school as an organization. Using this basic launching pad it is not too difficult to illustrate a number of significant relationships.

Schools are client-serving organizations, in a sense like churches or hospitals, but in other ways, as will be shown, quite different. The major service of the schools is that of the moral and technical socialization of the youthful members of society, to prepare them for adult status. The aims are presumably achieved by training the clients in knowledge and skills, and in some manner imbuing them with the required moral orientations. Within this broad context of preparing youth for adult status, schools set their more specific goals.

A second assumption relates to the student-teacher relationship. A fundamental dichotomy exists between student and staff roles. This dichotomy and resultant confrontation derives not only from the fact that education involves change and thus continually challenges the "equilibrium," but also from the roles the two groups play in the school organization. The students are compelled to participate, receive no pay, and are in a client position. The teacher, on the other hand, is a member by choice, has pay incentives, and adopts a professional attitude.

The third assumption is that the school is a bureaucratic organization, at least to a degree. There is a functional division of labor, a hierarchy of authority, an affectively neutral staff role, and an operation according to rules and regulations. Within this bureaucratic model the student as client or member has very little control of goals, practices, and organization. Even though he is the cause of the school's existence, he has no voice in shaping its operations.

The Impact of School on the Student

The goals of a school are prescribed. In the typical school setting there exists a set of expectations, whether explicit or implicit, commonly considered the curriculum of instruction. These expectations spell out the desired outcomes and the kinds of experiences to which both teachers and students must adhere. A consciously held goal leading to the planned learning situation exists before a classroom group comes into being. Usually flexibility is introduced only to improvise in regards to the immediate needs and interests of the students; education is its own excuse for being. The student has thus no real part in the goal formation of his organization. However, the goals of the students are also present in the school organization, especially as they begin to make associations with each other. This may lead the student gradually to become preoccupied with the problems of getting along with his peers, often to the detriment of identifying with his school goals.

Teachers form a ruling elite in the classroom. Society has vested control and leadership of the classroom group with the teacher. This has removed the formal classroom groups about as far from democracy as one can get. There are very few working groups in society in which these autocratic conditions are legitimized to such a degree. Students have no control over the selection of leader, they have very limited recourse from the leadership, and they have no formal power over his tenure as leader.

The impact of these countervailing and constricting forces will be pursued in the remaining part of the paper. But before turning to that analysis it may prove worthwhile to examine one more characteristic that evolves as a result of the student life in school and out; this is the development of referent groups. Considerable literature exists to show the impact of non-school organization influences on the student. Parents, church groups, and relatives are some of the more classic examples. But more significant for our discussion is the current literature on socio-economic status groups and informal peer-groups. Table I illustrates the high degree of relationship that exists between student academic aspiration and socio-economic status.[1]

The fact that the level of the socio-economic group from which a student comes, is highly related to his academic aspiration has significance for the school organization much beyond that schools wish to admit.

The powerful sway that students have one over the other in their own society is really common knowledge to a teacher, and is the subject of many a book. For instance, Friesen found that popularity was chosen over academic success and athletic ability as the most important characteristic leading to satisfaction in high school.[2] Coleman found that 43% of the students in his survey found "breaking with a friend" most difficult to take.[3] A number of studies support the general conclusion that the high school student is profoundly influenced by his peers.

TABLE I

STUDENT ACADEMIC ASPIRATION LEVEL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Item	Socio-Economic Status			P
	High	Medium	Low	(Chi-Square)
Plans for higher Education				
Boys: yes	84.4%	70.1%	37.1%	
undecided	10.2	19.1	29.2	
no	5.3	10.7	33.3	.000
no response	0.1	0.1	0.4	
Girls: yes	86.8	64.0	31.2	
undecided	10.4	16.5	26.2	
no	2.8	19.5	42.3	.000
no response	0.0	0.0	0.3	

The approach in this paper is somewhat haphazard, since the task attempted is still limited by insufficient research and study. However, the first section explores in some depth the nature of the student in the school organization trying to search out some of those organizational attributes primarily related with students as clients. The second section examines the way in which public schools adapt themselves to the unselected and varied clients. The third section develops concepts relating to the organizational control of students. This is followed by some questions and implications ensuing out of the rather inadequate and cursory analysis.

Type of Client in the School Organization

Three characteristics of the students in the school setting are significant for the school organization. These characteristics play havoc with neatly stated and carefully planned activities in many a system.

The first is best known and most fully researched. Great differences exist among members of the school clients in relation to personality factors. The range of individual differences in achievement and in motivation are so well known that they hardly need mentioning. Yet the school organizations, even though they have been aware of these differences, have been unable to cope effectively with them at the operational level.

Differing sociological orientations present the second set of characteristics significant for the school situation. Table I has already shown the disparity in academic aspiration related to different social background. Table II reveals the per cent of students in a special school for problem students in one large Canadian city coming from each of five socio-economic strata.[4]

TABLE II

PER CENT STUDENTS COMING FROM EACH SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP

	Socio-Economic Group					
	Low	LM	M	UM	High	Total
In Special School	34.5	23.2	23.2	15.5	3.6	100
In Total Population	15.8	17.4	34.6	17.5	14.8	100

Variations in the sociological background of students, according to Havighurst have more relevancy to educational potentialities than even the existence of peer groups among students.[5] Some of his findings lend support to the contention that the effects of teachers and educational programs can be discounted considerably, that the effects of student upon student are what matter, for the privileged student functions as a role model for the underprivileged student. Coleman in his current review of findings suggests that the socio-economic factor is the major cause of differences that do exist.[6]

The third major characteristic of students in the school organization stems from the type of organization that prevails in our educational systems. Carlson has labeled schools "domestic" service organizations.[7] In a service organization a social relation is established with the "objects" or work, who are at the same time the clients, and motivation is frequently an important concern. In most service organizations an element of selection exists. Either the organization or the client or both have control of selection and admission. In general four types of client-organization relationships are possible as seen below.

SELECTIVITY IN CLIENT-ORGANIZATION RELATIONSHIP IN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

		Client Control over Own Participation in Organization	
		Yes	No
Organizational Control over Admission	Yes	Type I	Type III
	No	Type II	Type IV

Figure 1

Types of Organizations

Most of the American organizations are characteristic of Type I. As an example, the university has control over admission and the student client has control over his participation. Church groups, service clubs, and professional organizations are other examples. Type II organizations must accept the client who, in turn, has free choice in participation. It is probable that junior colleges fall into this category. The American State universities are legally bound to accept all state high school graduates who are at least seventeen years old, and who wish to enrol.

Apparently service organizations of Type III are exceedingly rare. Here the organization has the right to select its clients, who in turn are compelled to participate. The army has this type of organization, but it can hardly be called a service organization. Some church organizations approached Type III in that men called for service were expected to follow the call.

There are a number of service organizations of Type IV; mental hospitals, reform schools, prisons and public school are examples. The clients in these organizations are members not by personal choice nor have they been selected by the organization. The present concern is with students in the school organization and, as a result, a few essential characteristics related to the fact that public schools fall into Type IV should be considered.

Since service organizations establish a social relationship with their clients they face a motivation problem. This problem is obviously more pronounced in the organization where the client is not a member by choice and where the organization is forced to accept him. Problems in motivation and control lead to a number of organizational ramifications.

Carlson also finds it appropriate to call Type IV organizations "domesticated." They are not "wild" as those in Type I, because

(1) they do not compete for clients,
(2) steady stream of clients is assured,
(3) existence is guaranteed (they are fed and cared for),
(4) they are protected by society, and
(5) the goals to which they are committed are imposed by external forces.[8]

It is not difficult to envisage a number of problems deriving from this "domesticated service" characteristic of the school organization. Only one major problem will be explored at this time. How do the diverse students and the schools as organizations *adapt* themselves to *control* their *relationship* when neither of them enters the relationship voluntarily?

Public School Mechanisms for Adapting to Unselected Highly Variable Clients

School organizations have goals to which they are committed and the achievement of these goals is hampered by the presence of these highly variable clients who are present not by their own choice. Some sort of control of relationships is essential to protect teaching time by removing disruptive elements in order to "produce." It seems rational and efficient to channel teaching to those students for which the school is geared to provide most service. Those students who conform to the school's procedures, who identify with the school's goals, and who succeed, receive preferential treatment. This is the first adaptive mechanism that the school employs. Schools do not treat all students alike whether in grades, withdrawal, truancy, discipline, or in extra-curricular activities. A simple illustration will suffice. Over 49% of all public high school students in Edmonton did not participate in a single extra-curricular activity during the 1966-67 school year, while 12 per cent participated in three or more.[9]

The second adaptation that school organizations employ is the segregation of students; this has received a somewhat negative connotation in the literature of youth. Carlson and others have labeled it a "dumping ground."[10] Since dumping does not occur into the academic area but invariably to the vocational, it provides evidence as to the type of student the school desires to serve. There is an analogy to these "special schools" or "special courses" in the "back wards" of mental hospitals. The above is not a judgment but a mere example of school organizations adapting themselves to their unselected, varied, and often uncommitted clients.

Of interest are the findings that line positions in the school organizations tend to support the instructional goals, while the staff positions are less supportive of the formal goals and more conscious of the student needs. However, even here there is growing evidence, as Corwin[11] points out, that guidance and counselling has substituted an institutional goal for its service goal, and has become more a professional tool supporting the goals of the school re selection and segregation.

Methods Students Use to Adapt Themselves

For organizations in general it can be hypothesized that the member who is satisfied with his cognitive orientation, whose behavior is individually satisfying while achieving the organization's goals would tend to conform. If the above would not prevail, he would tend to look for alternatives. March and Simon suggest that a person dissatisfied with his cognitive orientations would resist the norms of the organization and would consider at least three alternatives: (1) leave the organization, (2) conform even if dissatisfied, or (3) remain, yet seek personal satisfactions without conforming.[12] Figure 2 presents a brief summary of an attempt to trace the adaptations of the varied students to their mandatory service in the "domesticated service" school organization.[13]

STUDENT ADAPTATIONS TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS	STUDENT "TYPES"
Receptive Adaptation	Acceptor
Side-payment Adaptation	Collaborator
Situational Retirement	Vegetator
Rebellious Adjustment	Agitator
Drop-out Adaptation	Rejector

Figure 2
Student Adaptations and Types

The range of the student adaptation is all the way from complete acceptance to complete rejection of the school's goals and program. Too frequently the focus is only on the extremes when educators are concerned with the fullest development of the cooperative students, and with the social and educational problems of the drop-out. But for the school as an organization which must deal with all clients the "in-between" groups are highly significant as they are potential disruptive factors and potential failures for the school. The in-between adaptation indicates that the student defines the school goals and program in a way other than the school would define it. A brief look at each type will be followed by implications for control.

(1) The *acceptor* has successfully identified himself with the school's goals and program. He finds satisfaction in this cognitive orientation.

(2) The *collaborator* has developed a side-payments adaptation. He is looking for fringe benefits such as team sports, drama, or association with the opposite sex to obtain the satisfactions he desires. He puts up with school work so long as these are available to him.

(3) The *vegetator* is physically present but not mentally involved. He may look for commitment to other goals. He is the one who resigns to attend school; no one bothers him there. In a sense he is like the unemployed person going to the movies. As a result his behavior is model, yet his academic work leaves much to be desired. This is that agreeable boy who prefers to run errands for the teacher. He rejects what the school has to offer, but does not reject the school itself.

(4) The *agitator* has developed that well known rebellious adjustment. There is partial rejection of both the school and what it has to offer. This is the disruptive client, who continually tests the limits of behavior. In his attempt to deviate, short of dropping out, he develops that game of wits to see how much he can get away with.

(5) The *rejector* withdraws completely from the school and drops out at the first opportunity.

Reviewing this brief analysis of student adaptation to public schools it can be seen that problems relevant to the drop-out are not related to the rejector only; in fact, they are more closely associated with the "in-between" types, who do not find their satisfactions in school goals. Of significance is the finding of the writer that 43 per cent of 10,019 students found academic achievement as more satisfying in their school life than athletics or popularity.[14] Athletics was chosen by 12.5 per cent and popularity by 44.5 per cent of the students.

The implications for "holding power" of schools will be discussed later, yet it may be appropriate to raise the much debated hypothesis that the more "fringe" benefits a school makes available to the reluctant scholar, the greater will be its holding power.

The fact that schools cannot select their clients or shed them, and the fact of personality and sociological variability of students, together with the variability of adaptation of the student of the public school and what it offers makes it imperative for the school to develop control mechanisms. Organizational control of students will be discussed briefly at this time.

Organizational Control of Students

French and Raven have delineated five bases of control leading to power and influence.[15] They are as follows:

(1) Reward Power — ability to mediate based on rewards.
(2) Coercive Power — ability to mediate punishment or sanction.
(3) Legitimate Power — internalized values of legitimate rights.
(4) Referent Power — identification with others.
(5) Expert Power — special knowledge.

The authors indicate that certain consequences result from the reliance on any one of the sources of power. According to them referent power will have the broadest range. Coercion results in decreased attraction of client toward coercing agent, and high resistance. Reward results in increased attraction and low resistance. However, the more legitimate the coercion the less will it produce resistance and decreased attraction.

Etzioni classifies three types of control in organizations.[16] They are the following:

(1) Coercive power rests on the application or threat of applications of sanctions or punishment.

(2) Remunerative power is based on allocation of rewards.

(3) Normative power rests on allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations, the allocation of esteem and prestige, the administration of ritual, and the power which peers exercise over one another.

He illustrates that coercive power is more alienating than the others, while normative power generates more commitment. Utilitarian power tends to develop calculative adaptation. Relating this theoretical construct to the summary of student adaptations to the public school, we could hypothesize that coercive power leads to the rejector; remunerative power leads to three "in-between" adaptations of the collaborator, vegetator, and agitator types; while the normative power leads to the acceptor, that is, to the committed student.

Figure 3 shows the relationship of all these forces in the interaction of the student in his school organization.

KINDS OF COMMITMENT
(Involvement)

Types of Control	Alienative	Calculative	Moral
Coercive	Rejector		
Remunerative		Agitator Vegetator Collaborator	
Normative			Acceptor

Figure 3
Types of Control Related to
Types of Students

Two questions develop out of this theoretical framework. Should schools develop more remunerative controls to keep more students in school even at the expense of keeping them calculative individuals? If so what types of remunerative controls are available?

The second question is more significant. What in the nature of normative power has not been explored or used in school systems to lead students towards commitment to school aims? What is this normative power? The first question will be dealt with later. Here a brief analysis will be made to throw light on the normative control that can be made operative in schools.

There are two kinds of normative power. One, the purely normative, is based on esteem or prestige; the other is based on social power, the social symbols of love and acceptance. From the viewpoint of the organization pure normative power is more useful, since it can be used directly down the hierarchy. The social power is used more indirectly. When a teacher uses a class group to control a deviant student, he employs social power.

Most organizations employ all three major types of control but will emphasize one. When two types of control are used they may tend to neutralize each other. Applying force, for instance, generates alienation to the extent that normative power is ineffective. This may be one of the reasons why counselling work with drop-outs often fails to meet the objectives set.

In summary of this section, teachers control the different types of students using a few basic techniques. It is quite likely that the normative means of control need to be more fully developed and consistently employed. This would mean that the teacher develop esteem and prestige through all the elements of sound professional development, especially including knowledge of his subject matter, knowledge of the learning process, and knowledge of his clients. He also needs to allocate acceptance and understanding in his professional relations with the students. The school system, on the other hand, needs to foster means consistent with the approaches of the teachers to build up normative control which in turn leads to greater commitment on the part of students.

Thoughts on the Student Society

Before summing up the essence of this paper, it may be useful to examine a few thoughts on the social power existing in the student group in our high schools. How strong is the pressure emanating from the high school society? An estimate may be obtained from the research of the writer.[17]

From Table III it is clearly seen that the two major influences are parents and friends, with friends receiving 46.9 per cent of the choices. In the current Edmonton high school study 10,019 students chose the following as most difficult to take: Parents' disapproval — 47.2 per cent; Teachers' disapproval — 5.2 per cent; and Breaking with a Friend — 47.6 per cent. Two conclusions of great significance to our study emerge. First the teacher does not appear as a significant factor in the situation for social control. Second, the students' own peer group seems most important for the utilization of social control.

There is support here for Waller's argument of 1932.[18] Since the student society develops its own norms or subculture, which is off limits for school staffs, the relations between students and staff centre on conflict and mutual hostility. The teachers form a "fighting group," a tightly knit group struggling to maintain order and motivation using formal, legal and professional authority. At times they make efforts to penetrate the boundaries of student groups by personal warmth. The students also develop "fighting groups" to preserve their pattern of life and the conflict continues. Both teachers and administrators are at the same time exposed to community pressures. They can thus enforce the standards legitimized

TABLE III

PER CENT OF STUDENTS WHO FIND PARENTS' DISAPPROVAL, TEACHERS' DISAPPROVAL, OR BREAKING WITH A FRIEND HARDEST TO TAKE

	Boys	Girls	Total
Parents' Disapproval	44.8	47.2	45.9
Teachers' Disapproval	6.9	7.2	7.1
Breaking with a Friend	48.3	45.6	46.9
Number of Cases	(987)	(986)	(1973)

for the school by society. Thus from the administrator to the teacher to the student flows a dominant authority which enforces compliance.

Gordon and Coleman, in more recent research, have extended the concept of the alienated student in modern high schools.[19] All three argued that modern schools had introduced rather extensive extra-curricular activities for control. You will notice that this would be a remunerative sort of control presumably developing those "in between" motivated students.

Waller maintained that the extra-curricular program was good for control, that it represented a co-optation of the student social structure and its leaders by the staff. However, Coleman found that the extra-curricular program was dysfunctional for academic achievement; it led to academic indifference. It is interesting to follow the unanticipated consequences of the extra-curricular program as postulated by Coleman. In depressing the academic propensities of students it would further alienate the students from the central goal of the school. Further, the students through their programs would be able to co-opt important segments of the teaching staff.

There could also be pressure from the student society for a teacher to forego his affectively neutral professional teacher's role to use affective reinforcement. Here a real role conflict could develop, where the debureaucratization would lead to a deprofessionalization. The professional-client pattern weakened with this interaction. The final problem envisaged by Coleman was that as a result of the extra-curricular program modifications of the curriculum would be dictated more by immediate needs of students. No wonder that Coleman asks school people to look critically at the formal structure and curriculum of the schools.

Briefly, this paper has examined the impact of the school on students, the types of clients in the school organization, the mechanisms used by the school and the students as a result of the special nature of the school organization, the organizational control of students, and a few current thoughts on the high school society. Taken together this panorama provides some insight into the nature of the student in the school organization. Several implications emanating out of the relationship of students in the school and to the school organization present themselves.

Implications

1. *The Holding Power* refers to that self-discipline instilled in the youngster to continue his education beyond the constrained level. What role do the social and athletic activities play in the modern high school? Are they organized towards meeting the immediate needs of the students in order to keep them participating actively in school activities, or are they dysfunctional in that they further alienate the student from the school goals?

2. *Personality Needs* vary dramatically among the different types of students. In the light of the diverse nature of the school organization how does the school meet the needs of the students in the various categories? What can be done for the "in-between" students, those who are not committed to the goals of the school, yet remain in school?

3. *The Bases of Power* used in the school organization to control students vary significantly, and frequently have unanticipated consequences. Which bases of power are used most frequently in schools? Which are most functional in leading towards school goals?

4. *Socio-economic* effects on the education of today's youth have implications for school, especially in regards to the goals and organizations. Are there ways in which the power of the peer-group can be utilized as a base for motivation in schools? Should the "disadvantaged" be provided with "role-models" from the more privileged? How can the self-concepts of youngsters coming from the "culturally deprived" groups be enhanced?

5. *The Leader Image* has been ascribed to the principal. If, as has been suggested by some research, the teacher is not the significant factor in influencing the youngster, does this mean that a greater challenge of leadership falls on the principal? Is it up to him to work for that organization, to develop that in-service training, to establish that climate, and to provide that "thrust" which will stimulate all types of students towards greater commitment?

The leadership function, which usually falls to the top levels of the administrative structure or organizations, is critical. If

the school does not have clear goals and cannot develop a sense of identity, there is little to be committed to and little to communicate. There is no reason why the schools cannot engage every member of its organization to develop goals and identity. The argument is that the product of the schools should improve if the members are in communication with each other, are committed, and are creative and flexible.

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Principal and Administrative Team

J. J. BERGEN

Introduction

It is the object of this paper to examine some of the relationships of the principal with the superintendent, the central office staff, and with the school board. What are these relationships, of what significance are they, and what important role does the principal play in relation to senior administrative personnel?

No attempt will be made here to elaborate on administrative theory *per se* or on organization structures or charts. For a review of such the reader is referred to comprehensive papers by Enns[1] and Sparby[2] delivered at the Banff Regional Conference of School Administrators in 1960. Further elaboration abounds in the literature. This paper is restricted to an examination of some of the working or operational relationships among members of the administrative team, with an emphasis on the place of the principal on this team.

The Administrative Team

The administrative team for any school system consists of the school board and its appointed executive staff. For small systems the latter may consist of a principal only, or of a superintendent, a secretary-treasurer and a number of principals. For large systems the executive staff may include several assistant superintendents, directors, supervisors, coordinators and consultants — a vast array of line and staff personnel, supported by secretarial, clerical, and technical assistants. For most Alberta school systems the administrative team includes the divisional superintendent appointed by the Department.

The number of administrative positions approved for Alberta's fifty-nine divisions and counties in accordance with the Foundation Program, as of February, 1967,[3] can be summarized as follows:

Administrative Staff	No. of Systems	Range in No. of Staff
Superintendent only (appointed by Dept.)	25	—
Additional Assistant Superintendent only	7	1
Assistant Superintendent and other staff	11	1-4
Other staff only	16	1-2

That is, only thirty-four of the fifty-nine units had administrative instructional staff other than the superintendent appointed by the Department, who was the only executive officer in the other twenty-five larger units. For such systems the only central office staff position would be the school board's secretary-treasurer.

The size of the administrative staff in small urban public and separate school systems is no more impressive:

Administrative Staff	No. of Systems	Range in No. of Staff
Superintendent only	7	1
Superintendent and additional Staff	7	1-3
Other staff only	1	1

Medium sized urban, or small city systems — namely Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and Red Deer — each had seven or eight instructional positions which included a superintendent. In contrast, Edmonton and Calgary public school systems had fifty-three and sixty-five approved positions respectively, and Edmonton and Calgary separate systems, twenty-six and seventeen positions respectively. However, these numbers do not include many positions assigned by the respective school boards with respect to business and school facilities, which, for example, would add about another dozen positions for the Edmonton public school system alone.

The most frequently mentioned positions in rural systems are supervisors of elementary instruction, music, and guidance. Small urban systems appear to appoint reading consultants more frequently. Small city systems appoint supervisors or coordinators of physical education, music, art, guidance and French. Large city systems have directors, coordinators and consultants for most general areas of the educational program.

In most rural school systems of this province, the superintendent, appointed by the Department of Education, acts in an advisory capacity to the school board, but generally carries out many of the board's executive duties, formally or informally delegated to him by the board, such as the securing and placement of teaching staff. Principals may communicate directly with the superintendent in matters pertaining to the instructional program, with the board's secretary-treasurer in order to obtain equipment and supplies, and with the board with respect to any matter.

In larger rural systems the board may appoint an assistant superintendent and one or more supervisors or consultant teachers. Depending upon the arrangements set up by the board, the assistant superintendent could be responsible to the board only, or in part to the superintendent. Additional staff responsible to the assistant superintendent would act in an advisory capacity to principals and teachers. Secretary-treasurers are generally directly responsible to the school board. This may not be ideal organization, but is indicative of what generally happens. The multiple line-function to principals does suggest that confusion of authority and responsibility can result. The fact that such arrangements do work fairly well in most systems may be due to the quick flow of communication along informal channels. This works reasonably well as long as position incumbents are fairly flexible in their expectations and exercise of authority.

Small city systems usually have organizational structures which are flat in nature. Communication lines are not complicated. Relationships among personnel may be quite informal, and much of the communication may follow informal channels.

Larger city systems have much more complicated administrative structures which tend to be tall. The volume of administrative work is considerable. Responsibilities must be very clearly defined Lines of communication should be clearly delineated. Though much of the communication may follow informal rather than formal channels, the smooth operation of the system is dependent upon the formal structure, to which new incumbents of positions must be able to adjust without too much delay or difficulty.

There is yet no magic formula which regulates the number and kind of administrative staff required for school systems of various sizes. The number and kind of positions will depend upon the goals of the system, its program, and the financial resources available to support the program. Increased knowledge and new demands placed upon schools force school systems into accepting more tasks. Generalist administrators, the superintendent and the principal, will tend to acquire more specialized staff in areas of administration, in disciplines having relevance to school operation, and in content specialization.

Administrative Functions

A function may be defined as "that which must be done to accomplish the purposes of the organization."[4]

The school board, operating within the terms of reference set by provincial law and sharing the responsibility for local education with the provincial authority, exercises legislative, executive and judicial functions. That is, it formulates policy, it executes policy, and it makes judicial decisions in matters of conflict and controversy. However, a school board can be most effective if it concentrates its efforts upon policy-making, that is, setting the direction of and the goals for the district educational enterprise. Therefore, a school board is most efficient and effective when it delegates operational details, that is, the carrying out of its executive function, to an executive or administrative staff.

The function of the superintendent is to act as the chief executive officer of the board. He is a regulator of decision-making processes and helps the board to make and administer policy. Specifically, the superintendent is involved in the improvement of educational opportunity, the procuring and development of personnel, the provision and maintenance of funds and facilities, and the maintenance of effective relationships with the community within which the school system operates.

Essentially the principal is involved in the same categories of general functions as the superintendent. However, the principal's functions are much more specific, and generally restricted to the achievement of the system's objectives for his school.

It is the function of the assistant superintendent to administer some part of the program for which the superintendent is generally responsible. Policies approved by the school board must be translated into a program of action. The improvement of the educational program, for example, must be spelled out in terms of the revision and development of the curriculum, the evaluation of instruction, etc. For large systems the task becomes too monstrous for an assistant superintendent alone, so that he in turn becomes an administrator of more specialized personnel, who may be designated as directors, coordinators, or consultants, and who in turn become responsible for the operation of some part of the educational program. For example a coordinator may be in charge of the entire reading program in the elementary schools, whereas consultants or supervisors may work more directly in consultation with principals and individual teachers. The title given to a position is not significant. The position might be designated more precisely by a role description rather than by a title.

The business administrator, whose chief function is the provision and maintenance of funds and facilities, should (according to most current writers) report directly to the superintendent, and as such he performs as a specialist service staff officer. He works with principals, teachers, custodians and others in preparation of budget estimates.

Because certain instructional administrators have more specialized knowledge than principals, there is a tendency to place them in line position. However, since such officers derive their real authority from technical knowledge, their roles should be to educate rather than to coerce, and to work cooperatively with school principals who should maintain basic responsibility for what goes on in their buildings.

Administrative Relationships

Organization charts illustrate formal authority structures and formal communication channels. It is likely impossible to structure formal lines of communication so that these and no others will be followed, and so that these shall prove effective and adequate at all times. Role incumbents are people with individual characteristics which are not shed at the door of an institution, but are brought into the organization and are part of every transaction between persons, whether these be formal or informal. If we look upon any organization as a system, comparable to a natural system, then those aspects of the organization which are functional will be maintained, and those which are not will suffer disuse, and will or should in due course be changed or be eliminated. The system, in some sense, spontaneously develops channels of communication and ways of handling situations which may not have been part of the original formal plan. The more adequate the formal structure is, the greater congruence there is between the formal and the informal — the less perfect the formal structure, the more conflict arises between role expectations and role performance. Formal channels of communication may be by-passed and informal lines followed which, in certain situations, result in more effective and faster goal-accomplishment.

In view of this, we can examine the principal's actual relationships with other members of the administrative team. In a sense, the principal occupies a pivotal position. He is in charge of his school. Information flows upward to administrative staff through him, and downward to the classroom teachers through him. What decisions are made by those higher up in the line depends in part on what the principal says, and how such decisions will be translated into action in the school's program, again depends on him. Of all administrative positions, that of the principal is of crucial importance. Central office staff and the superintendent, in a sense, are facilitators for the principal, so that he can conduct a good school program.

In very large schools the principal's role becomes more that of a superintendent of a system, coordinating administrative staff under him, who in turn affect directly the operation of the program as it is applied to the learner. Here the principal correspondingly relies on the advice he receives from department heads, coordinators, supervisors, and consultants. The extent to which the superintendent or the principal must operate as a generalist depends on the size of the system under consideration, and the number and kind of administrative staff employed.

In at least one Alberta school division the principals, or representatives of the principals' association, regularly attended board meetings and were invited to place their recommendations before the board. In the Edmonton public school system four zone associations of elementary school principals meet periodically, as do junior high and senior high principals as city-wide associations. Recommendations of these associations may be sent directly to the superintendent, who may delegate these to the appropriate staff officials for action. Through this same channel recommendations from principals may be brought by the superintendent to the school board meeting for the board's consideration. Principals do have channels whereby, if not individually, at least collectively, they can bring urgent matters to the attention of the superintendent and even of the school board. Whether such recommendations are approved and translated into action depends to a large extent on how well these are thought out and formulated, and whether an element of political wisdom is evident by bringing these before the central office staff or the board at an appropriate time.

If a request for a specific item comes before the superintendent, its need must be well documented. Or if the superintendent brings the same matter before the board with his recommendation that the matter be approved, he may need the support of staff officers, and of principals in case the matter is questioned. The handling of one such item at a large city school board meeting serves as an illustration. Under consideration was the installation of natural gas outlets on students' desks of a physics laboratory at a cost of nearly $3,000. Though the item had been recommended and submitted through the superintendent's office, the board asked for its justification. The superintendent motioned for an assistant superintendent to provide the information, who in turn referred to a vice-principal of the concerned school. The vice-principal's explanation appeared weak. The board turned down the item. It was learned that the vice-principal did not anticipate the requested explanation, and that in fact he was not in charge of the science program in that school. The incident serves to point out the need to be prepared to provide the essential information, and to do so effectively for any item which comes before the board for approval. Every principal, or his delegated substitute, should be prepared to provide adequate justification for any request for his school. This opportunity can be available at board meetings, both in small and large systems. Here is one direct channel through which the principal can influence the decision-making process which affects the operation of his school program.

Some Findings

In 1960 Toews made a study of the activity of the then existing fifty-one principals' associations in divisions and counties.[5] He found that the aims of these associations were ranked in the following order: (1) coordination of the work of principals; (2) providing some uniformity of school administration; (3) assisting the superintendent in the supervision of instruction; and, (4) advising the board regarding educational policy. He found that thirty-nine of the associations were making policy recommendations to boards. When boards were asked to rank the effectiveness of the associations, they ranked principals' policy recommendations twelfth among sixteen items. Nevertheless, they commented quite favorably upon the effectiveness and usefulness of the work of the associations. On the other hand, a panel of experts consisting of the

Chief Superintendent of Instruction, the Dean of the Faculty of Education, The Head of the Department of Educational Administration, a professor of educational administration and a school superintendent, ranked the policy-making activity of the associations fifth in importance. Perhaps principals should have a good look at their policy-making potential and methods, so that these might be more appealing to school boards.

A study by Sherk and Knill involving 180 divisional and county school principals in an area adjacent to Edmonton indicated that principals of smaller schools and relatively inexperienced principals expected independent action by the superintendent. However, more of the principals expected the superintendent to consult with them.

The study concluded that:

> The very considerable differences in expectations and in perceptions held by certain classifications of principals, and particularly by the principals in smaller schools as compared with those in large school situations, indicate that the superintendent's behavior needs to be flexible and variable if he is to meet the expectations of principals in different circumstances. The nature of the expectations and perceptions suggests that incumbents are in various stages of development.[6]

This may apply to urban as well as to rural principals.

Finlay and Reeves found that the school boards and school committees of Alberta divisions and counties expected superintendents to exercise independent action in most instructional areas, to act under board direction with respect to instructional personnel, to assist in an advisory capacity only in business matters, and to exercise no responsibility with respect to the secretary-treasurer.[7] Inexperienced board members expected greater board independent action than experienced members. One may surmise that boards would not be inclined to delegate greater responsibility to principals than they do to superintendents.

In a study of the operation of the school boards and school committees of fifty-eight divisions and counties, as reported by superintendents, Hastings found that only 19 per cent of the boards could be classified as policy-makers who delegated the executive function. On the other hand, 97 per cent of the superintendents and 86 per cent of the principals were reported to be involved in policy development.[8]

Maertz observed school boards and school committee meetings in a sample of eight divisions and eight counties. He found that reference to handbooks was rare and that a lack of well-formulated policy was of little concern to the boards. The average board lacked policy governing eight of thirty-five observed items, and most boards lacked adequate policy in five or more of seven action areas. Staff officers lacked guidance and authority to make decisions. Boards made poor decisions due to a lack of information. They were generally involved in too much detail, which they confused with control of the educational system. Maertz observed that boards of larger systems made more policy-type decisions, and fewer total decisions.[9]

In a study of forty-one school division secretary-treasurers Hrynyk found that they reported a general lack of policy, and that many of their decisions were approved by the board after they had been made.[10] The areas of authority and responsibility of the superintendent and the secretary were poorly defined.

An American study regarding the practices of school boards in districts having systems enrolling 1200 or more pupils found that problems relating to policy were most frequent, and reported by one-third of all boards.[11] One-fifth of the boards reported board-superintendent relationship problems due to a need to distinguish clearly between board functions and administrative responsibilities.

A Study of Functional Interrelationships

Recently a doctoral study by Brown involved the examination of the functional interrelationships as perceived by 195 supervisors and administrators in various positions in eleven Ohio city school systems.[12] One of his observations was that "Subordinate position holders had difficulty in perceiving the extent or limits of responsibility delegated them." This may not be so much a difficulty for principals, who may see everything that happens in their schools as part of their responsibilities. However, difficulty is more likely to occur among central office staff, particularly if their roles are not well defined.

A second observation was that "Staff personnel operate as line officials in functional aspects of their responsibilities." Coordinators and consultants with respect to special subject areas may appear both to teachers and principals as having a line authority function.

A third observation was that "Multiple supervision exists without undue strain on organizing harmony," and a fourth that "Individual accountability to a single superior is not an inviolate principle. Multiple supervision operates successfully among professionally oriented personnel, particularly if there is not an overlapping of functions being supervised. Problems occur in dual supervision when both have regard for the same or identical matters." Operationally, there may be several lines of authority extending to the principal's school. Three principals of elementary schools in the Edmonton public school system were asked from whom they received direction and to whom they reported. Their replies appeared to be in accordance with Brown's finding. From whom a directive might come depended on the nature of the issue, and to whom they would report or communicate also depended upon the issue at hand. Though it appeared from the organization chart that principals might be responsible to an assistant superintendent, this was the position with which they communicated most infrequently.

Brown's fifth observation was that "Participation on part of the staff in the development of operational policies and with opportunity to influence outcome of policy formulation makes the authority role in carrying out policy of much less importance." It could be said that if a policy is in part the result of the principal's participation and an outcome of his requests, it could not matter to him from which staff position the formal directive indicating the implementation of that policy might come.

At this point it might be added that principals need to be aware of the importance of good perception in inter-personal communication. In a recent study Foskett and Wolcott found that elementary principals had some difficulty in perceiving the expectations held for them by superintendents and school boards.[13] Enns stated that "The soundness of the decisions (by administrators) depends very largely upon the adequacy of the decision maker's perception of the situation and the many variables involved."[14]

Some Implications

Though policy-making may be the formal prerogative of specified positions, the principal can develop skill in influencing the outcome of policy-decisions which affect the operation of his school program. Since he is closer to the scene of implementing the school program than are central office administrative staff, he can exercise the power of first-hand operational knowledge.

The principal should be aware of the many channels of communication, both formal and informal, and develop political wisdom in sensing which channels can be most useful to him at any given time for any specific issue.

The principal should question the adequacy of his own perception of communications he receives from central office staff. On the other hand, he should examine with great care his own communications, whether these be requests, or submissions of information, and attempt to sense what the perception of the receiver of his communications might be. Thought and care given to communications received and those remitted should provide for more effective and efficient inter-personal relationships between the principal and the central office staff, the superintendent, and the school board.

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Variations in the Principalship

E. MIKLOS

What tasks, activities, and functions should individuals in various administrative positions attempt to perform to ensure the effective operation of schools and school systems? This question continues to attract the attention of both practitioners and students in the field of educational administration. Seminars, conferences, workshops, and research activities have focused on the roles of school boards, secretary-treasurers, and superintendents; the principalship has also received considerable attention, perhaps as much as the other three combined. One might assume that it should be possible to come to some agreement about the nature and character of each of these positions, to arrive at a job description that could be agreed upon, and, in a general way, this would seem possible. However, the increasing complexity and changing nature of education together with the organization which is devised to cope with it seems to require that we redefine positions, re-allocate functions, and decide upon new responsibilities which are in harmony with the total educational picture. The purpose of this paper is to analyze some of the basic considerations in various views of the principalship and to suggest how some specific questions about the role and functions of principals relate to these basic conceptions.

Before it is possible to deal with specific questions about the principalship it seems necessary to develop first some thoughts about the nature of administration in education and about the general role of the principal as an administrator. This will be followed by a consideration of some views of school systems as organizations and an analysis of two possible views of teachers. The logical implications of these views for the role of the principal will be elaborated. Finally, a number of specific questions will be considered against the background of the earlier development.

Administration in Education

A question which is far more basic than one of the functions of specific administrative personnel concerns the need for various administrators in education. It is not uncommon to hear the suggestion that education could be carried on without principals, or superintendents, or school boards — at certain times these suggestions are proposed more seriously than at others, usually by individuals who see their own positions as indispensable — and the question is not altogether ridiculous. It would certainly be possible to think of carrying on some form of education in which there would be far fewer administrative positions than we have now. One might point to the provision of such services as legal and medical which appear to have need for fewer administrators. Admittedly, the structure of education would have to be far different from what it is today if we were to reduce the number of administrators by a significant number. This is so because we seem to have made the decision that education should be provided on a large scale, that it should be organized in some manner, that it should be subject to varying degrees of control and coordination. That is, it has been decided to carry on education as an organized rather than as a haphazard, chance, or individual type of operation. As soon as there exists a desire to carry on a series or set of activities designed to achieve certain purposes in a coordinated manner, there is a need for an organizational or administrative structure. This administrative structure becomes apparent in the form of various administrative positions which are created: school boards, superintendents, consultants and coordinators, principals and others as well. These administrators, regardless of what specific position they occupy, are engaged in three major administrative activities to varying degrees:

(1) determining, discerning, or deciding upon what the purposes or objectives of the educational system shall be.

(2) determining the means, outlining the tasks, and assigning the activities which must be carried out to achieve those purposes.

(3) coordinating, directing and leading the efforts of those persons engaged in the activities to assure the effective operation of the system.

School boards are obviously concerned with the first of these functions: determining the overall policies which will indicate the direction or the particular form of the education of pupils in a particular school district. Boards must then also concern themselves with the personnel and with the physical facilities which will be required to achieve those purposes. Superintendents are involved in identifying, discerning, and recommending appropriate objectives, in determining what will have to be done to achieve those objectives and in coordinating the activities of personnel engaged in the work required to achieve the objectives.

School boards and superintendents are generally concerned with the operation of a total school system; one of the significant parts of that system is the individual school. In the sense that the school is a distinguishable administrative unit, the principal of the school finds himself involved in the administrative activities mentioned above for his particular school. For example, he must discern specific objectives in relation to the education of pupils in a particular school within the framework provided at the school system level, he attempts to organize his school by assigning and allocating teachers and pupils in such a way that the educational objectives can be achieved, and he leads and coordinates the ongoing activities of the school. Frequently, these general activities are discussed in the form of more specific functions of principals such as attempting to improve the educational program, developing personnel in the school, working with the community, and managing the school. As long as we carry on the discussion at the general level of these functions we are not likely to encounter any problems; it is when we begin to consider some of the more specific questions of how and to what extent a principal becomes involved in each of these functions or activities that differences begin to arise. The following section of this paper attempts to identify basic sources of these differences.

Conceptions of School System and Teacher

In attempting to define the tasks and activities associated with various positions there is a tendency to take as a model the practices in another kind of organization: school boards are likened to boards of directors, superintendents to persons with similar titles in business, principals to managers of branch offices or to managers of departments. At times this is an unfortunate comparison because of the assumption that these other organizations are the same as school systems and that teachers are like the personnel employed in other types of organizations. This assumption is likely to be invalid in many instances and may result in confused thinking about the roles of particular administrators in education; there is a need to develop role conceptions which are in harmony with the characteristics of the organization and its personnel.

Although there are many basic similarities, the organizational nature of schools and school systems does differ from that of other types of organization; the character of the organization also differs from school district to school district as well as from school to school. All school systems have basically the same objectives and those within a certain geographical area operate under the same legal or formal structure. Yet because there are differences in the situations, in the problems which they encounter, and differences in the people who staff them, school systems may also develop unique characteristics which result in significant differences. For purposes of discussion two rather extreme types of school systems will be described and later the descriptions will be linked with the conception of the principalship which might be developed in each.

School System Type 'A'

One possible trend in the development of a school system is an emphasis on a high degree of centralized control and the emergence of positions and procedures which will facilitate the exercise of that control. In a school system such as this there is a tendency for school boards to interpret their legal powers literally and to exercise the fullest amount of control which they possibly can; the superintendent and the other central office personnel are looked upon as agents in achieving this control and considerable emphasis is placed on the adherence to formal, legal authority which these individuals may have in the exercise of their duties.

There is also an emphasis on making decisions centrally, at the higher levels in the organization. Policies become spelled out in considerable detail, and there is an emphasis on adherence to the policies which are established. Decisions about the nature of school programs, the organization and the content of courses, the nature of subject matter to be presented and the sequence and pace of the presentation are decided upon centrally for the total school system. These policies and decisions are usually set down in the form of handbooks, guidebooks, resource units, and directives from the higher administrative levels. In short, an attempt is made to control most of the details of the operation of the educational system.

In order to ensure that practice is in accord with prescribed procedures, use is made of various means for checking and reporting on practice. This becomes manifest in the amount of paperwork required to supply the school and its personnel with specifications concerning details of operation and in the amount of paperwork required to report back to the central office administrators on the details of the operation of the educational system. There may be reports on progress, school organization, results of system-wide tests, and so forth. Further activity would involve close checking on what is taking place in classroom instruction — how well are teachers performing, is progress comparable with that in other schools and classrooms? If there is a preference for face-to-face discussions in the system there may be many meetings of the superintendent, central office personnel, and principals for the purpose of receiving communications and discussing coordination.

In summary, the nature of this type of school system might be described as being centrally controlled with emphasis on specifying many of the details of the operation of individual schools and classrooms, and including emphasis on the legal and formal structure which makes the decisions and exercises the control. It is already evident that there would be some very definite demands on principals in this type of school system; this will become more evident after we examine some alternatives in the form of another type of school system.

School System Type 'B'

In this type of system there is much less emphasis on the features described for school system Type 'A', namely, less emphasis on centralized decisions and control. This does not mean that there is any less desire for an effective educational system; it means only that the organizational approaches are quite different. Instead of focusing on determining many of the details of operation and expecting rigid adherence to these, there is an attempt to allow for flexibility and to depend to a much greater extent on the decisions that can be made in individual schools and classrooms. Although broad policies are set out, there is much less emphasis on aiming for similarity or uniformity in the application of these policies, The scope of the policies is such that the rules and regulations which emerge from them can vary and yet be in accord with the policies. There is an expectation that individuals at lower levels will be able to arrive at more effective decisions than those which might be determined at higher administrative levels.

The presence of the legal and formal framework which supports the educational system is not nearly as evident as it is in some other system. Although legal and formal powers are recognized and adhered to, this is accomplished in full recognition of the freedom which is possible. There is limited emphasis on the hierarchical and formal nature of authority which the various administrative levels exercise over the lower levels.

There could be a fair amount of activity in such areas as deciding upon school programs and developing resource materials; however, the use of these would be much more clearly presented as optional, as suggestions and resources rather than as prescriptions for practice. In fact, the use of the materials which have been developed as if they were prescriptive might even be discouraged. The expectation and practice would be that individual schools and classrooms must be able to adapt programs, courses and procedures so that they "make sense" for a particular situation. Since many details are left to the decision at school and classroom level, it is not surprising that there is considerable variation in actual practice; this variation is not a source of concern to the school system.

Under this type of organization there is less need for checking procedures that are part of the more rigid and prescriptive type of organization. Since the details of operation are not subject to control, the interest is focused more upon the objectives which are being selected and the extent to which the objectives are being achieved. This can be of a more general nature than would be the case if procedural details were the center of interest. The variation in practice also reduces the need for coordinating activities since these are limited to the areas in which coordination is essential. Furthermore, there is far less emphasis on written reports and on formal supervisory visits to personnel which result in such reports.

These two views of school systems can lead to discussions of the role of the principal in two ways. First, if these are approximations of some actual variations in school systems, it is clear that the demands made upon principals in one type will be quite different from the demands in the other type. In the highly structured, more or less rigid school system the principal will be forced into becoming involved in control; in the more flexible type of school system organization he is placed in a position of having to make many more decisions about the operation of his school and the activities which take place within it. The same interpretation holds if we look upon these as being two different conceptions of desirable school system organization. Those who favor type 'A' would see quite a different role for the principal than would those who favor a type 'B' or a much less rigid, more flexible, decentralized form of organization.

These differences will become much more evident if we consider also variations in the views of teachers which might be held by members of the organization. In the same way as we can find variations in conceptions of what is the desirable form of school system organization there are also variations in what is considered to be the prevailing characteristic of teachers, or, differences in what teachers are like. This is particularly significant because many of the activities of a principal involve working closely with teachers. The conception one has of "the teacher" is likely to be closely related to the conception which one has of "the principal." Again, two possible views of teachers will be presented for purposes of discussion.

View of Teachers "A"

One possible view of teachers is that as a group they are becoming increasingly "professional." The term "professional" may not be a good one to use because it has various possible interpretations and a general vagueness. Here is it being used in the sense that teachers appear to have a greater understanding of the basis of teaching, are becoming more highly skilled in performing their teaching, and perhaps are becoming more committed to performing effectively as teachers than at any time previous. This general view of teachers also sees them as much more competent, willing, and ready to make decisions about their teaching — decisions about the nature of what it is that various pupils should be taught and how they should be taught even though this is still within the framework which might be set down by the school system. That is, it is assumed that teachers have an understanding of the development of the learner, a knowledge of the structure of that which is to be learned, the ability to diagnose the needs of the learner, and the ability to apply the appropriate procedures. Because teachers are able to do this there is no need to prescribe, to set out the details of what must be done, and no need for close supervision. Not only is there no need for close supervision, there may even be decreasing effectiveness if there is an attempt to prescribe for and to control the teacher in many areas of teaching performance.

The view could also be extended to include teachers who as yet do not have the characteristics mentioned above in that they might be viewed as having the potential to develop in that direction. Furthermore, it might be held that teachers will develop in this direction only if they are accorded treatment which stimulates them to move in the direction of development as professionals. Consequently, instead of applying prescriptions, instead of outlining the details of what they should be doing in their teaching, they must be challenged and guided by providing them with more opportunities for individual initiative, opportunities for individual decisions, and opportunities for professional growth.

Basically, this view of the teacher sees him as an individual who must have considerable scope for discretion and action, as one who is capable or has the potential for performing effectively without a high degree of control and direction. In this general description there is already some hint of the implications for the role of the principal which will become even more apparent as the contrasting view is presented.

View of Teachers "B"

Another possible view of teachers sees them as much less capable or willing to use individual skill and judgment in making decisions about their work. It is assumed that teachers are not able to decide what is best for a particular class in terms of the material or process of instruction; it is assumed that these must be decided for them. There is a feeling that if many of the regulations, restrictions and controls which surround teachers were removed education of pupils would deteriorate. Some may hold that eventually teachers should have greater autonomy in their work but that for the time being it is necessary to exercise considerable direction and guidance. In fact, the number who need this direction, guidance, and supervision still far outnumber those who do not require it.

In contrast to the "professional" view of the teacher this might be identified as an "employee" view. The main element in the conception would appear to be that teachers are employed to perform a particular job, that they must become familiar with the way in which they are expected to do this, and that they must be supervised closely to ensure that they do perform the job. As a further contrast there is also the assumption that teachers work best under these conditions and that they do not react negatively to the conditions under which they are expected to work.

Since principals do spend a major portion of their time in working with teachers in one activity or another, it should be clear that the conception which one has of teachers will influence what one expects of the principal or, on the other hand, that the characteristics of the teachers with whom a principal works will influence the nature of the relationship.

Variations in Principal Role

The major purpose of this development is to indicate how ideas about the nature of school systems as organizations and the nature of teachers modifies definitions of the role of a principal. To facilitate communication from this point on the two types of school systems described earlier will be classed as the "highly structured" and "flexible"; similarly, teacher conceptions will be classed as being either "professional" or "employee." A combination of school system view and view of teacher results in four possibilities which would be related to the four possible variations in the role of the principal as suggested by the following figure:

		Conception of School System	
		Highly Structured	Flexible
View of Teacher	Employee	Manager	Director
	Professional	Mediator	Leader

In an attempt to obtain descriptive labels, the four variations have been designated as *manager*, *director*, *mediator*, and *leader* roles. A brief elaboration on each of these may clarify the differences among them.

In a highly structured school system where there is an emphasis on centralized control, where teachers are viewed as employees who are in need of a high degree of control, where there is an emphasis on prescription, on checking, and on reporting back to higher levels, the role of principals will tend to be defined as that of "managers." That is, principals will tend to be viewed as links in the highly formal network of communication; the main functions will be defined as receiving communications from higher levels in the school system, interpreting these communications, conveying information to teachers, assisting them with carrying out the prescriptions, and reporting back again to the higher levels.

Although there may be some possibilities for adapting and modifying the instructional program, it is quite likely that this will be lost in the general conception of the job. Principals in this type of situation will be seen more as individuals who are responsible for making certain that schools operate and that instruction is carried out in the pre-determined manner; the emphasis on administrative detail required to keep schools operating as determined will preclude many of the other activities that are associated with the role. In relationship to teachers in the school, the principal will be seen as having a formal and legal authority which places him considerably above teachers in the structure of the system.

Principals as Directors

Under a situation where the school system is not as highly structured but much more flexible and decentralized, where there is much greater opportunity for variations at the level of the school and classroom, but where teachers are still viewed as "employees," a logical outcome would be a "director" concept of the principalship. That is, the principal is seen as exercising the direction and control which teachers require, but he does not exercise control under the close direction of higher levels in the school system. The system has become decentralized and power has been dispersed to some extent but it has not filtered down to teachers; it remains at the level of the principal. The principal is viewed as exercising much greater control on his own initiative than is the case in the highly structured school system; he "directs" and "leads" in a highly formal sense.

Principals as Mediators

The logical outcome of a view which sees teachers as professionals within a highly structured and rigid framework is a "mediator" concept of the principal. The demands which the highly structured system makes of its personnel are incompatible with the inclinations of those same individuals; the principal is seen as mediating the organizational demands and individual tendencies. On the one hand, he is forced to make certain that the demands from higher levels are met at some acceptable point, that rules, regulations, and decisions are carried out to at least some extent. On the other hand, he must create possibilities within this rigid structure for opportunities to exercise the professional discretion which teachers would seem to require. He mediates in the sense of playing down the organizational demands and facilitating the creative teaching which is difficult to achieve within a restrictive structure.

The basic problem or conflict in this situation is between the teacher and the school system; in actual practice the conflict resolves itself into the principal attempting to satisfy the demands of the school system on the one hand and of the teacher on the other. Which of the two he favors, if he favors either, will no doubt depend upon his own inclinations as well as upon the strength of the two forces.

Principals as Leaders

The "leader" concept of the principal is most consistent with a flexible school system structure and a view of the teacher as a professional. The nature of the organizational structure is such that there are possibilities for variations in the programs and practices carried out within the school; principals and teachers have the scope for making school level decisions, for trying out new ideas, for modifying their practice. At the same time, professionally-oriented teachers are ready to undertake the kinds of developments which are possible; they have the capabilities or potential for using the autonomy which they have for developing improved practice. In such a situation it is possible to conceive of the principal as a leader of professional persons, as one who works with a group of professionals in deciding upon objectives and means, in coordinating the work of the group, in facilitating their activities, and in planning further improvements and developments.

The leader concept of the principal appears to recognize that what should emerge from the operation of a school is more than just the sum of the individual effort of teachers in their classrooms. Although all teachers might be viewed as highly competent, the leader concept implies that there is a need to work with the group for the effective utilization of all of their skills.

Actual and Ideal Roles

Identification of four possible emphases in the role of a principal raises the further question of which role do principals tend to emphasize and which emphasis ought to be given both now and in the future. To deal with the first of these, it is quite possible that different principals emphasize different conceptions of the role; in practice some may be more like the leader mentioned, others might be emphasizing aspects of the role which would class them as managers, mediators, or directors. The particular emphasis will depend upon the particular conception which the individual has of what the principalship ought to be — and there is probably a good deal of variation among principals — some, no doubt, see themselves more as managers rather than as leaders. Another source of variation would be in the nature of the situation: size of school or school system might result in principals emphasizing one of these rather than another. The two factors mentioned above would also be operative; if principal's practice is consistent with the development mentioned here, some might be emphasizing the mediator role because they find themselves working with professional teachers in a highly structured situation, others might be directors, imposing their own control and direction on a group of teachers who either do not have the skills or are not given the opportunity to exercise professional autonomy. One further obvious possibility is that principals have to perform various aspects of all of these roles and many even vary their approaches from year to year and from persons to persons. To the extent that a principal finds himself in a highly structured situation working with teachers who are not prepared to the degree that it seems possible to view teachers as professionals he becomes a mediator, and so forth.

No doubt, those who are familiar with the approaches which a number of principals take toward their work will be familiar also with the possible variations. The variations should not be as disconcerting as the lack of congruence of the emphasis in behavior with reality. Principals who attempt to perform as "leaders" of professional persons in highly structured organizations with teachers who have not acquired the characteristics of professionals will be in for some difficulty as will those who assume the role as "managers" with teachers who have acquired professional characteristics. It is clear that attention should be focused on an appropriate emphasis rather than on one emphasis to the exclusion of all others; however, this is not to suggest that we should not look forward to future developments.

Although it has been recognized that to some extent a principal must be manager, mediator, and perhaps even director, there is little doubt that the future role should be that of leader of the teachers in the school. This would seem to be the most suitable relationship when we consider the type of teachers and the type of teaching which would seem to be the most desirable. Flexibility in the organization of school systems would also seem to be desirable in order that the variations in practice at the level of the school, and the utilization of all skills of teachers would be possible. There are many signs that teachers are moving in the "right" direction (or if they are not, they should be, and forces for this will become stronger); at the same time there is less evidence that school systems are becoming more flexible and that there are possibilities for teachers and principals to make significant modifications in what they can do in the school. As the structure of the school system becomes more complex, there are pressures for principals to assume a managerial role which is incompatible with the characteristics of the teaching staff and with the pressures from them. The result is probably forcing the principal into the role of mediator, a theme which is current in the discussions of this position. It is clear that if principals are to perform the role of leader with a minimum of expenditure of energy on mediating, that the necessity for a flexible, more decentralized type of school system will have to be recognized by those who structure school systems. At the same time, principals must demonstrate that they understand the leader concept and that they are prepared and able to perform the role of educational leader in the school. Principals may also have to give further thought to the advisability of looking upon teachers as professional persons and not as employees whose skills and abilities are inferior to their own.

Relationship to Specific Problems

The earlier sections of this paper suggested that the overall conception of the principalship would aid in clarifying discussions of a number of specific problems. Those to be outlined are for illustrative purposes and may serve to suggest similar analyses.

To Rate or Not to Rate?

Should principals visit classrooms regularly for the purpose of observing teaching and writing formal reports to be submitted to the school board and/or superintendent? Those who favor this practice would probably hold a "manager" concept of the principal's role while those who oppose it probably view the role as being more of a "leader". Formal evaluation is one of the demands that is likely to come in a highly structured school system where teachers are viewed as employees and not as professionals. It is a demand which is incompatible with the emerging characteristics of teachers and one which is highly time consuming considering the other possible activities in which principals could engage to improve education in the school. Although there is no doubt that information on performance of teachers is desirable, it is questionable whether the preparation of detailed reports resulting from formal visits has any beneficial effects at all, let alone have benefits which outweigh the ill effects.

Teacher or Administrators?

Where should the principal's main loyalty lie: with teachers or with the administration? There is no doubt that the principalship is an administrative position; yet it is questionable whether it should be considered a "management" position. To some extent principals find themselves between the higher administrative levels (school boards) and teachers; they must be able to communicate and work with both. However, since principals of most schools must be able to work closely with teachers, since they must be able to lead and to help, there seems little doubt but that they must be oriented more to teachers than to the higher administrative levels. To move even further away from a colleague-professional relationship would probably reduce the effectiveness of the principal in several aspects of his role.

Requisite Skills

The problem of what skills a principal should have is important to those who must select principals; requisite skills will again depend upon the major conception of the role or what the principal is expected to do. If it is agreed that he should be a leader, it is evident that he must be competent in general areas of education, that he must be able to assist teachers, that he must be able to work with groups of teachers in identifying purposes and means for achieving those purposes and so forth. A principal should have additional administrative skills including an understanding of the functions of administrators particularly of principals, an understanding of the characteristics of schools as organizations, and the ability to work with professionals and to develop an effective educational unit of his school.

The total conception of the role of a principal in relation to specific skills might also be of assistance to principals who are seeking to improve their own performance. The first logical step in attempting to develop skills would seem to be a consideration of the desired outcomes. Principals in general might give further thought to the skills which they must have or acquire in order to give the leader emphasis to their role; those who have responsibilities for identifying and selecting principals should give thought to the skills which they are seeking and how these might be identified or developed.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to relate different conceptions of the principalship and differences in the approaches taken by those who occupy positions as principals to differences in fact or in conceptions of the school system as an organization and conceptions of the teacher. Four possible emphases in the role of principal emerged from combining highly structured and flexible school system organization with professional and employee views of teachers; these were manager, director, mediator and leader. Although there may be a basis for suggesting the desirability of any of the four emphases, it was proposed that the leader concept is most appropriate in terms of the desirable characteristics of the school system or school and desirable teacher characteristics. This might require modified attitudes toward both school system organization and teachers if the leader emphasis is to be appropriate and realistic. A limited number of specific problems were raised for the purposes of demonstrating the value of considering such specific problems within a broader framework and in relation to other relevant factors. The value of the framework is also tested through the analysis of specific problems; it is hoped that discussion of additional specific problems will find the framework proposed here to be useful to at least some extent.

APPENDIX

I. POLICY COMMITTEE

R. E. Rees (*Chairman*)	Department of Education
N. P. Hrynyk	Alberta Teachers' Association
E. M. Erickson	Alberta School Inspectors' Association
M. E. LaZerte	Alberta School Trustees' Association
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